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MILITARY MEMOIRS

OF THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR.

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

MILITARY MEMOIRS

OF THE

GREAT CIVIL WAR.

BEING

THE MILITARY MEMOIRS OF JOHN GWYNNE;

AND

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

EARL OF GLENCAIRN'S EXPEDITION,

AS GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES, IN

THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND,

IN THE YEARS 1653 & 1654.

BY

A PERSON WHO WAS EYE AND EAR WITNESS TO EVERY TRANSACTION.

WITH

AN APPENDIX.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR HURST, ROBINSON, AND CO. LONDON;

AND ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH.

1822.

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY JAMES BALLANTYNE AND CO.

INTRODUCTION.

The two following Narratives are put into a printed state, not because they give any new or particular information upon the subjects of the Great Civil War, but because it is desirable, for many reasons, to place beyond the reach of accident every personal narrative connected with that eventful period.

Captain John Gwynne appears, from the last link of a formidable Welsh pedigree, to have been the grandson of Edward Gwynne, Esq. barrister at law. He was, before the Civil War, a retainer in the household of Charles I., and employed in training the family of that unfortunate prince to military exercises. He naturally engaged in the royal service during the Great Civil War, and seems to have distinguished himself by his personal courage and

activity. After his Royal Master's execution, he followed the banner of his son, in the most difficult enterprizes in which it was displayed. Gwynne was with Montrose in his last unhappy attempt; and, undeterred by the dangers which he then escaped, was again ready to venture his person in the same country and quarrel, under the command of Middleton. When that enterprize also failed, he joined the motley army of loyalists which assembled round James, Duke of York, and was with him at the fight before Dunkirk, and other actions in Flanders. Upon the Restoration, Gwynne seems to have experienced his share of the neglect with which Charles II. treated the old cavaliers. He seems to have been passed over in the course of promotion in the Royal Guards, where he had so long been an officer, and to have been left to embarrassment, if not to want. The general clamour of these neglected partizans at length extorted some ostensible attention to their situation; and Gwynne, amongst others, seems to have then drawn up the following statement of the battles, skirmishes, and adventures, in which he had distinguished his loyalty. The Manuscript is a very neat one, bearing in front several preliminary letters to persons of consequence, whose in-

terest the author was desirous of securing. Whether he proved successful in his application, or otherwise, is unknown; but the latter conclusion is to be apprehended. The Manuscript was obligingly presented to the Editor by the Reverend John Grahame of Lifford, near Strabane, Ireland, into whose hands it fell by accident.

The "Account of Glencairn's Expedition" is already partly known to the public, by the Extracts published by Lord Hailes. Mr Wood, in his enlarged edition of the Scottish Peerage, has given the following account of the noble Lord who made this gallant, though unsuccessful, effort, in favour of loyalty and Scottish independence.

"William, ninth Earl of Glencairn, the eldest son, (of William, eighth Earl of Glencairn, and of Janet Ker, second daughter of Mark, first Earl of Lothian, by whom he had issue,) born about 1610, succeeded his father 1631, and obtained a letter under the Great Seal, dated 21st July, 1637, ratifying the patent to the deceased Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, of the title, honours, and dignity of Earl of Glencairn, of 28th May, 1488, in favour of William, now Earl of Glencairn, and his heirs and successors in all time coming. He had a charter of the barony of Kilmaurs, &c. to him and the heirs-male of his

body; which failing, to the heirs-male and of entail, specified in the infeftments of lands of Glencairn, 27th July, 1642; and another of the lands of Lambruchton, 7th April, 1643. He was sworn a Privy-councillor; was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, 1641; joined the Duke of Hamilton, and the Earls of Lanark and Roxburgh, in opposing the sending an army into England to assist the Parliament's forces, 1643, which King Charles I. was pleased to acknowledge in a letter under his own hand; concluding, 'I give you this assurance, on the word of a prince, that I shall never retract any thing I have granted, either in religion or liberty, to my subjects in Scotland; and, for your own part, I will not die in your debt.' His Lordship was constituted Lord Justice-General by Parliament, 1646; entered heartily into the 'engagement' for the rescue of the King, for which he was deprived of his office, in virtue of the Act of Classes; and, 2d March, 1649, Parliament passed a decreet against the Earl of Glencairn, annulling his patent of earldom, 1488.

"After the English to all appearance subdued Scotland, a new and formidable enemy arose in the Earl of Glencairn, who received from Charles II. a commission to com-

mand all the men he could raise for his Majesty's service. He left his house of Finlayston, in August, 1653, and went to Lochern, where he met the Earl of Atholl, and some chiefs of the Highland clans, and soon found himself at the head of a considerable body of men, with which he gave much trouble to General Monk."

For some time the insurrection seemed to proceed with the rapid increase of a snow-ball. Scotland had been harassed by the pressure of the English yoke, to which she was altogether unaccustomed, and the wretched state of the nation, as well as the irritation of men's spirits, induced many to take the field. There was a general movement in all parts of Scotland, and everywhere horses were seized in the King's name, by the adventurous or desperate, who were desirous to rank themselves under Glencairn's command. The nature of their proceedings is pretty well indicated by the following passage in Nicol's Diary :—" The greatest relief at the time was, by some gentlemen, called Moss-troopers, who having quietly convened in thirties and forties, did cut off numbers of the English, and seized on their packets and horses." Most of these insurgents joined Glencairn, whose army amounted to 3000 men, of whom five hundred were horse, chiefly

Lowland gentlemen, and their immediate retainers. With such an army, the enterprizing genius of Montrose might have achieved much. But Glencairn, though both a brave man and a good soldier, had not that predominant influence in the little army, which successful genius alone can give in such cases. He was desirous, according to Burnet, of falling down on the Low Countries, but was opposed by the Earl of Balcarras, who contended they should rather keep together in the fastnesses of the Highlands, until they obtained from Charles such assistance of men, money, and arms, as he might be able to send them.

Accordingly, Middleton was sent over by Charles to take the chief command of the army, and was accompanied by many cavaliers; and especially, among others, by the indefatigable Captain Gwynne. But the arrival of Middleton, far from appeasing the discords which already began to rage in the little desultory army, was solemnized by a duel betwixt the Earl of Glencairn, whom he had superseded in command, and Sir George Munro, one of the officers who accompanied the general. The final fate of the Highland army, was such as might be expected from the motley ingredients of which it was composed,—

mountain clans, who were unwilling to leave their passes; English and Scottish horse, who could not find subsistence among the hills; men of as many principles as opinions, each obstinate in maintaining his own; an abundance of petty chiefs, ready and desirous to command; and a want of troops inclined and accustomed to obey. They were chaced from place to place, in a manner not very honourable to their skill, considering the strength of the country which they occupied; and after a few checks of no great importance, particularly one at Lochgarrie, their army finally dissolved without doing any thing distinguished.

Glencairn had capitulated for himself before the final dissolution of the army; but was, notwithstanding, exempted from pardon in Cromwell's act of indemnity in 1654, and in the subsequent year arrested, as appears from Nicol's Diary, and committed to the Castle of Edinburgh. The rest of his history may be told in Mr Wood's words:—

"Lord Glencairn was one of the peers Monk called to the Convention he summoned, when he was to march into England, 1659, and pressed the general much to declare for a free Parliament.

"On the Restoration, his Lordship went to Court to offer his congratulations to King Charles II., by whom he was sworn a Privy-councillor, and constituted High-sheriff of the county of Ayr. The Earl of Loudoun surrendering the Chancellor's place, the Earl of Glencairn was, 19th January, 1661, appointed High-chancellor of Scotland for life, and was sworn into office in Parliament, 28th February following. His Lordship had a great share in setting up episcopacy; but being a wise moderate man, resolved to keep things in as great temper as possible, and to proceed but slowly in matters that related to the settling of the church. This produced a breach betwixt him and Archbishop Sharpe, who, in 1663, went up to Court to complain of the Chancellor, as remiss in executing the laws about conformity; and to represent, that unless more spirit was put in administration, it would be impossible to preserve the church. Sharpe obtained a letter to the Privy-council, in January 1664, giving the Primate the right of precedence over the Chancellor. This insult sunk deep into the Chancellor's heart, that brought on the illness that occasioned his death at Bolton, in the county of Haddington, his lady's jointure-house, 30th May, 1664, in the 54th year of his age. He

was buried in the south-east aisle of the Cathedral Church of St Giles, at Edinburgh, with great state and magnificence, on the 28th of July following. His funeral sermon, by Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, extolled the nobility of his birth and descent, his solid piety, his excellent parts, his eminent loyalty, and most singular temperance and sobriety. In Pinkerton's Scottish Gallery is an engraving of his Lordship."—DOUGLAS's *Peerage of Scotland, vol. I. pp.* 637, 638.

It only remains to be noticed, that the manuscript from which the Account of Glencairn's Expedition is printed, is in the possession of Sir Alexander Don of Newton, Baronet, representative of the Earl of Glencairn, in right of his mother. It is said to have been compiled by John Graham of Duchrie, one of the most distinguished gentlemen who joined him in the undertaking.

In illustration of these Memoirs, and at the same time to shew the miserable state of the kingdom of Scotland, exhausted at once by foreign domination and domestic dissensions, the Editor has added some extracts from what may be called the Gazettes of the period, the dispatches, namely, from Scotland, which, chiefly composed

at Monk's head-quarters at Dalkeith, appeared from time to time in the Public Intelligencer, by which the Protector informed his subjects of occurrences in his usurped dominions.

ABBOTSFORD, 21*st December*, 1821.

MILITARY MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN GWYN.

PREFATORY LETTERS.

To His Majesty King Charles II.

SIR,

YOUR MAJESTY is my best witness to satisfy yourself that I have served you immutably, from youth to old age; nor could any other kind of incouragement on earth gaine me from my loyal devotion and service to your Majesty, whilst I had a being in what condition soever; neither would I be so great a criminal, and so insignificant, as some unjustly have rendered me unto your MAJESTY, for my life. Therefore, and in regard of his Grace the Duke of Monmouth's late commands, that whosoever rides in the Royal troop of Guards, must give an account how long, and in what capacity, he had served the King,

and whether gentleman or mechanic; I prepared this small manuscript, of my own poor method and writing, most humbly to present unto your Majesty, as a real testimony of those several countreys where I have faithfully spent my prime of years in your service, and likewise my observation (as most to the purpose in my best sense,) of all the field-fights and garrisons I have been in, and against, in your Majesty's service. And withall, not one of those many brave fellows who had the honour to carry pikes and muskets when your Majesty, in your junior years, was pleased to exercise us at Richmond and Windsor, nor one from that great nursery of prime men at Court, then about the Royal Family, can own to have gone more steps, and through more hazards, to accomplish his loyal duty, than has,

Your Majesty's most

Humble, faithful,

Poor subject and souldier,

JOHN GWYN.

To his Royal Highness the Duke of York.

SIR,

MY loyalty and service to my King, and likewise to your Royal Highness, (since it was to the royal interest,) has been some forty years' continuance, and the small manuscript which I most humbly present unto his Majesty, and to your Royal Highness, are the accounts of it, wherein, if I have not amply and sufficiently exprest my constant fidelity and service, what I have omitted for brevity, I can make to appear, that in all the late King's troubles, both at home and abroad, I ever had so little value of myself, as not to regard what should become of me, so I might still be serviceable to my Prince. I could do no more, nor would not live to do less, while there was the least occasion for it, being

Your Royal Highness's most
Humble, faithful, and
Meanest of servants,
JOHN GWYN.

To his Grace the Duke of Monmouth.

SIR,

THIS small manuscript is in obedience to your Grace's late commands, and an account unto the King of my time spent in his service, where I have not only been a spectator to what was done, but so frequent upon action, as to gain the experience to know my own resolution so far, that before I would be surprised by a neglect of your Grace's commands, being my General, my Captain, so great a master in arms, and already so famous in heroic actions, I would choose rather to do as an old comrade of mine (one Aldersey) has done; who went but little way from his command, in the interim, the enemy fell upon his post, and cut off most of his men, before he returned and desperately ran in amongst them with his sword in his hand, embroiling in blood, till they had mastered him with wounds, and offered him quarter, which he refused to take, saying, "I will not outlive the day that shall

make me be hanged for neglect of duty,"—and so fought to death, as it was really rendered unto him.

Your Grace's most humble servant and
Souldier, to command,
JOHN GWYN.

To his Grace the Duke of Buckingham.

SIR,

IN those glorious days, before the late intestine wars, I had the honour to be known unto your Grace, and receive your commands, when with the Royal Princes, ye, all in your infancy, were so earnestly inclined to armes,* that it seemed in some opinions to presage, like apperitions which foretell wars, by appearing in formal bodies skirmishing and fighting; and your briske firing, lighting to the thundring wars which suddenly broke out upon't,

* It would seem, that the sons of Charles I., with young Buckingham and others, were regularly trained to military exercise. The superstitition, that when boys begin to form themselves into regiments in sport, it foretells civil war, was formerly very generally received. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, sayeth, that the Cornish commotion was *fore-halsened*, or presaged, by two parties of boys at the free-school of Trigge, who divided themselves into the factions of the old and new religion, and carried on the war until "one of the boyes converted the spill of an old candlestick to a gunne, charged it with powder and a stone, and (through mischaunce or ungraciousness,) therewith killed a calf, whereupon the owner complayned, the master whipped, and the diversion ended."—*The Survey of Cornwall, Book II.*

and subverted the whole government, by reducing princes from their power, for pezants to rule and give lawes; but as prodigious monsters have no second brood, can go no further,

So wheel'd about, each to their proper sphear,
Princes and pezants, all right as ye were.

To his Grace the Duke of Albemarle.

SIR,

THERE are none, from the meanest of pezants to the greatest of princes, through all these three nations, but have (or ought to have) a perpetual devotion of love and honour for your Grace, as knowing whose offspring you are, that so highly obliged them to it: And now that your Grace is constituted our Captain-general, by the King and Fame's election, let all these men of Mars immediat under your command, solemnly invoke with me that your Grace, in all your enterprises, may be as propitious as was your renowned father, in his great and glorious action of restoring the King into his three kingdoms at once, irrisistible by any force or power of the hosts of men in armes which were to oppose him. It was such a mistery as not to be exprest, but with admiration to the wisest, save only to those who knew it was foretold for many ages before it came so happily to pass, to redeem us from bondage. Yet all this seemes no more then a

hint to what more may be said, which I'le not presume, it being a work rather for some inspir'd author. All I pretend to is, that in obedience unto your Grace's commands, and zeale to my King's service, I dare dye at your heels, being

Your Grace's most obedient

Servant, and souldier to command,

J. G.

To his Grace the Duke of Grafton.

SIR,

YOUR high birth, grand imploys, and most personal aspect in your minor years, are exceeding remarkable, and speaks you mighty hopefull in the world; yet all these singular graces, and rare good omens, seemes short to presage the happines that attends your Grace to that of your inate princely inclination and natural genious, which so faithfully leads you to do such noble and generous actions, as to indulge those brave persons under your commands to merit your favours; to prefer men before money, and to have regard to justice, is the true way to honour: It is that which makes your Grace great in the eyes of all good men that knowes you, to have a residence in their harts, and hug'd in their affections.—These, and what other ornaments or endowments as you grow in years, may adde to your renown, and make you glorious, I would it were as your great parents would have it, or your own hart can wish it, is the real and harty devotion of

J. G.

To the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke.

My Lord,

The fame that attends your Honour, for the noble and inestimable value you always have of gentlemen and brave persons, is such a princely generosity, as not to be paralleled in this age, and creats an ambition in me, (as I am a shrub of your countrey,) most humbly to present unto your Honour, for your divertisment, these my faithful indeavours, and ever constant resolution in all the late wars; either to improve my service to my injur'd prince in his sufferings, or lye *mort* in the bed of honour amongst his martyrs: and how fairely I pusht to make it my doom, or accomplish my duty, the King, this manuscript, and the marks which makes me weather-wise, are my testimonys; unto which I hope your Honour will be pleas'd to adde your kind approbation in my favour, of him, who is really devoted,

Your Honour's most humble
And harty servant,
John Gwyn.

To the Right Honourable the Earle of *

My Lord,

As your Honour, by an inate disposition, and constant fidelity, can well wittnes that there is not that thing under heavens so choyce unto a faithfull gallant person, then his king and countrey's honour: so in this account, of more then six times seven years' service to my king, both at home and abroad, I instance particular places where brave men, on that precious behalf, made it more dear and tender to them then were their lives they sacrifis'd for't; and as it is most highly remarkable, and passing great, in a noble heroic sense, must needs be pleasing unto your Honour, by a sympathy to know of these your native countreymens' perfect loyal devotion, and invincible spirits, which is more then rare to find in any other

* The title is left blank in the manuscript.

clymat that ever I knew or heard off: Therefore, my Lord, I humbly present these my account unto his Majesty, likewise unto your Honour, as an acknowledgement of your former favours, and my ambition more effectually to express it, if ever it lyes in the poor capacity of

Your Honour's most humble

And oblig'd servant,

J. G.

To the Right Honourable his Majesty's Officers of the Board of Green Cloath.

WERE I invested in the command which is well known to be justly my right, I should now (at least) be the third field-officer in the royal regiment of Guards, who daily have the honour to guard his Majesty's sacred person, the Royal Famely, and their most honourable houshold: or had I attained to whatsoever of command above my meritts, yet truly I should ever own it a first faire step to preferment for me to have been bred in the nursery of your yong clearks at Court; for they were allways hopefull in their imploys, as were their successive advancements honourable. Nor knew I any of them that repair'd to the royal armys, but came as brave and worthily to their commands, as whose ambition were soly devoted to honour and the King's service: and, for myself, how I have improv'd my time, according to my poor talent and trust reposed in me, presented the King, his Royal Highnes, and my general, each of them with a

small manuscript, whereof this is another of the same, which I humbly offer unto your Honours' kind acceptance as my obligation; having for several years before the late unhappy wars served under your mannagement, to make me capable of succession amongst ye; but for my military ingagement, which I was incourag'd to by princes, and which I hope you will all approve off, as the perusal of these the loyal endeavours, and real account of

Your Honours' most humble servant,

J. G.

To the Honourable Sir John Salsbury, Knight and Baronet.

SIR,

SINCE it was highly my ambition, in the late wars, to serve under the command of the truly Honourable Colonel Sir Thomas Salsbury, Baronet, I do, from the great tender of service I shall ever own unto you, as being the son and heyr to his acquir'd parts and fortun, (and one of the props of my countrey,) humbly present unto your Honor, these, the unfained fruits of my prime of years spent in the King's service, which, though they are but of little worth, yet they are from a great devotion; and such, I presume, there are some lofty courtiers, that, before they would be bound for so many seven years together, to serve his Majesty in his military affaires, to gain those marks of honour I have got with bloud and wounds, and broaken bones, to merit their imploys, would rather quitt, to keepe whole in their skins: and it's probable, if occasion should require, there would more follow the example of the one

in his choyce, that it is good to be sure, then the other, who the peeple condole with shaking of their heads at his misfortune. But hereafter, for a better incouragement of all such brave men as herein are mention'd, to regulate whatt's amiss, and the satisfaction of all loyal harts, I daily hope, and hartily implore, that the great wisdom of the King and his grand Council shall, in due time, against all diabolical plots and privy conspiracy, set all things to rightes, as a most glorious act of their happy meeting to so great a work,—is the fervent devotion of

Your Honour's most humble

And harty servant,

J. G.

To the Honourable Colonel ———

SIR,

IN this small manuscript is an addition of something more then in that which I presented unto the King; and I presume it would not be amiss his Majesty should know of its being the transactions of grand commanders, who, in the enfancy of the late wars, seem'd so much to indulge it, as to have it rather go on, to advance their own privat intrest, then soon ended for the King and countrey's good. But, for the future, if the worst comes to the worst, to have wars againe, (which God forbid,) I hope all such ill presidence as those will be carefully avoyded, and, in their stead, may you be one, as already you have given a large testimony of your fidelity and courage; and I wish that, by your proceedings, care and diligence in your honourable commands, you gaine that ample experience as may make you fully compleat in the general knowledge of all military affaires; for the King's more just

and faithfull service, for a better conduct in discipline then heretofore hath been, for the public good, and your own continual honour, I implore it, being

Your Honour's most humble

Servant to command,

J. G.

MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN GWYN.

CHAPTER I.

*How the King, with his Army at Brainford, could not advance any further to the purpose towards London than he did, whatsoever were the reports.**

The very first day that five comrades of us repaired from the Court at Richmond to the King's royal army, which we met accidentally that morning upon Hounslow

* Brainford, or Brentford, having been carried by a sudden attack by the King's party, the Earl of Essex, with the Trained Bands, endeavoured to

Heath, we had no sooner put ourselves into rank and file, under the command of our worthy old acquaintance, Sir George Bunckley, (then Major to Sir Thomas Salsbury,) but we marched up to the enemy, engaged them by Sir Richard Winn's house, and the Thames side, beat them to retreat into Brainford,—beat them from the one Brainford to the other, and from thence to the open field, with a resolute and expeditious fighting, that after once firing suddenly to advance up to push of pikes and the butt-end of muskets, which proved so fatal to Holles his butchers and dyers that day, that abundance of them were killed and taken prisoners, besides those drowned in their attempt to escape by leaping into the river.—And at that very time were come a great recruit of men to the enemy, both by land and water, from Windsor and Kingston: And it happened that Sir Charles Lloyd, or some other engineer, to blow up a barge loaden with men and ammunition, which, as the

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cover the city of London; and although his forces were two to one against the royalists, it was a common opinion, that if the King had advanced to the charge, the city regiments would have given way, and he might have entered London in triumph. But Clarendon, as well as our author, alleges, that, to make the attempt, would have been an act of madness, which even success could not have vindicated.

fearful crack it gave, and the sad aspect upon't, struck such a terror into the rest of the recruits, that they all vanisht, and we better satisfied with their room than their company. Nor can any thing of a souldiar or an impartial man say, that we might have advanced any further to the purpose towards London than we did, in regard of the thick inclosures, with strong hedges and ditches, so lined with men as they could well stand one by another; and on the common road and other passes, were planted their artillery, with defencible works about them, that there was no coming at them any nearer, upon so great a disadvantage, to do any more than we did, and withal considering that they were more than double our number; therefore the King withdrew, and marched for Hampton-Court, where, for my farther incouragement, I had the colours conferred upon me, to go on as I had begun. I cannot omit observing, that had Essex his right wing of horse, which stood upon more ground than the King had horse to face them, wheeled to the left to join with the foot that came from Windsor and Kingston, and fallen on the King's rear, he might have gone to London *nolens volens*.

CHAPTER II.

How Sir Arthur Ashton, Governor of Reading, came to be speechless towards the latter part of the Siege, and what ensued upon it.

From Hampton-Court, his Majesty marched for Reading, fortified it, made it a garrison, and Sir Arthur Ashton governor, who, upon receipt of a letter upon the Castle-hill guard, and looking about him, said, "Here are none but I may safely communicate the contents of my letter unto;"—then arose from his chayr, broake up his letter, and went out of door to peruse it, when there was no necessity, as want of light or any thing else; but, as his hasty fate would have it, for he had scarce a minute's time to look it over, but a cannon-shot came through the guard-house, and drives the tyles about, that one fell upon his head and sunk him almost to the ground before

Colonel Lunsford and another officer catcht him by both armes,* held him up, brought him into the guard-house, put him into his chayr, then presently he layed his hand on his head, under his cap, and faintly said, "My head's whole, I thank God;" and spoke no more there at that time, but immediately was carried away to his house in the town, where, during the rest of the siege, he was speechless;† and a considerable time after the garrison was surrendered; then they broak their conditions with us, and plundered us. Then Colonel Fielding, deputy-governor, commanded in chief, who was accused for betraying of the garrison, and condemned to dye at Oxford.

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*As Doctor Jones prest to come near the governor, a tile fell upon his head, broake it, and [it] bled freely.—*Original Note.*

† Clarendon suggests, that Ashton was silent out of policy, not chusing to give command in the state in which he found himself, or not liking the situation of the besieged: at least, adds the noble historian, "when he came to Oxford, he could speak as reasonably of any matter as ever I knew him before or afterwards."

CHAPTER III.

How Reading was betrayed by Fielding.

When Colonel Fielding treated with the enemy for the surrender of the garrison, when there was neither want of men, provision, armes, or ammunition, there was sent Captain Whitehead, our scoutmaster-general, and with him went three more commission-officers, for Oxford, to acquaint the King with it.* His Majesty was surprised when he heard on't, knowing this frontier garrison to be of a grand consequence, and to have in it as many brave old commanders as was thought to be in all the army besides, sent his positive and strict orders to the governor, and the rest of the officers, that they should

* Clarendon says there were but forty barrels of powder in the town.

take no further notice of whatsoever conference past between them and the enemy, relating to the garrison, but that they should be in readiness to stand in their own defence, if occasion should require, and upon such a day, (nameing it, and, as near as he could compute it, the hour of two in the afternoon,) he would come with his army to the relief of us. To second and confirm this his resolution, he was pleased to send a packet by one that swoom the river to bring it to the governor, who so much slighted it, as not to give the least obedience to it at either times; nor when the King came punctually the day prefixt, with his army, to the relief of us, (and some hours sooner than was mentioned, for the King had engaged the enemy by nine or ten of the clock in the morning at Causam Bridge,) yet Fielding was no more concerned at it than if he had been but a neuter to look on and see them fight; and although they broak their truce with us on the other side of the town, in shooting thrice at our royal sconce with their great guns, yet he would not stir, nor consent to make any opposition against them; which is a sufficient demonstration that he designed to render up the garrison quietly to the enemy, as I heard some years after in the remote island of Shetland, upon a discourse

with one Harvey, a captain in Sir William Johnson's regiment, under Marquis Montrose, who told me, that at the siege of Reading he was a lieutenant in Essex his life guards, and had the guard upon his tent two several nights, when he saw Fielding go into it to him; and he assured me, that there was nothing more sure than that the garrison was betraid.*

That of Harvey's relation, I presume, was over and above what was in the charge objected against Fielding, when he was condemned to dye, (though afterwards pardoned,) nor would I instance it, but for the inclination I have to render the great probability, that when there was as much corruption in the army as in the garrison, in them, (whatsoever they were that dissuaded the King from his own better judgment and conduct, for he was for coming to the relief of the garrison, though Essex's army was 18,000 strong,) and engage the enemy the same side the river they were on, and take the conveniency of his own time, which would have been a whole night's

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* Notwithstanding these vague reports, Fielding continued in the King's service, and exposed his person with alacrity on all occasions. Yet he never recovered from the blemish of the imputation; so fatal is misfortune, and so difficult it is to cleanse the sullied reputation of a soldier.

march; and the next day, possibly, might have been so near as to interpose between several of their troops and drawing up into any great body, being they were quartered far distant one from another; and, as it may well be supposed, their artillery signified but little, for they could not be hurried over hedges and ditches so fast as to any purpose; and then they must have wanted seven or eight thousand of their foot, which was to man their works, and line that was of so large a circumference to keep us in play within: and by that and the like means, it would have been very hopeful for the King to succeed against them, and by it preventing the unhappy event that followed by so much ignorance, if not altogether corruption; for they brought the King to ingage the enemy, and put the broad deep river of Thames between them, and so to confine his army of horse, foot, and artillery, to march over a narrow straight pass, (not much bigger than a salley-port,) of an old wooden bridge, which was within cannon-shot of the enemy's works, and over which there could not march above five, or six at the most, in a breast, and would have taken the remainder of this day to do it; and then they must have drawn the van of their army close to the enemy's works, and the rere upon the brink

of the river banke, and yet not have ground enough to draw up an army, if it had been so done as it was not, for the enemy raised a breast-work and a battery against the bridge-end, and the commanded party, or forlorn-hope of the King's army, desperately attempted to force over the bridge against the cannons mouth, and great bodies of small-shot, which cut them off as fast as they came.*

The King was highly troubled at it, and to find that he was over-persuaded to come the wrong way of doing any good, drew off and marched away, with the loss of two or three hundred men, rather than throw away any more of his army upon impossibilities.

And it was much that Essex had not shewn more of his military art (if he had it) and let the King's army march over the bridge, and draw up in bodies or into what number he pleased; for they must have been at his devotion, since he might have planted his artillery upon a line, and made quick work with them that had no work, nor no kind of defence for themselves than to expose their

* The Earl of Brentford (Ruthven) attempted, at the head of a thousand musketeers, to force a passage through Essex's lines, but miscarried, with the loss of many men.

naked bodies against a whole train of artillery, and an army of small shot, for they could bring their armies of horse and foot in the rear of their artillery, and face the town at once, for any danger in their flanks or rere, which was as much advantage to them as they could well propose to themselves to have, if they understood it.—Much more may be spoke to this; but, in fine, was ever known so gross and shameful an undertaking, under the notion of conduct, as to bring an army to the relief of a place when it lay in the power of one of the enemy to baffle that army; for one man might have cut down an arch of the bridge, or unplank it, and so make it inaccessible, before the King with his army could come near it: and which way, then, could he come over with it, had it been ever so advantageous to him, as it was apparently destructive?

CHAPTER IV.

How we failed, (as it was then generally reported,) in the Taking of Gloucester, which was of so grand consequence.

I was at the siege of Gloucester, where then it was reported, that had there been as much care taken in making one mine ready,* as was in making of the other two which stayed for it, probably we had carried the town, and consequently put a period to a great deal of farther

* We learn, from a tract drawn up by Massey the governor, upon the military government of Gloucester during the siege, that the royalists sunk a mine opposite to the east gate of the town, from which they were driven by a desperate sally: Also, that they renewed their efforts, and, notwithstanding the springs, run a new mine under the moat; while the garrison, by counter-mining, endeavoured to let down the water upon them, or to get at and steal away the powder from the chamber of their mine.

trouble; and had not Essex come that very day he did to the relief of it, the land-flood, which, by a great glut of rain fell that night, had made all our labour in vain, and we forced to remove the next day.

CHAPTER V.

First Engagement at Newberry. Newberry Fight was not quite ended, until, in the Pursuit of Essex, we took Reading.

And when we drew off, it proved to be a most miserable tempestuous, rainy weather, that few or none could take little or no rest on the hills where they were; and the ceasing winds next morning soon dried up our through-wet clothes we lay pickled in all night, (as a convenient washing of us at our coming from the trenches;) and we made such haste in pursuit of Essex's army, that there was an account given of fifteen hundred foot quite tired and spent, not possible to come up to their colours before we engaged the enemy; and a night or two before, we lost two regiments of horse, (Kentish men, and new raised regiments,) which were surprised and taken prisoners in their

quarters; and what was worse, in most men's opinion, we were like to drop down every step we made with want of sleepe; yet, notwithstanding, we marcht on still, until the evening we overtook the enemy's army at Newberry Towns end; then our quarter-masters, with their party, beat their quarter-masters and their parties of horse out of the town, and very early in the morning gave them battell.*

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* Essex having relieved Gloucester, was desirous to return to London, without hazarding an action, but was followed by the King, and compelled to fight at Newbury. The firmness of the London Trained Bands, (so much the objects of dramatic ridicule,) saved his army, and enabled him to retreat without much loss.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Devizes was taken, the rather by the absence of those who were obliged to come unto it, and did not.

I WAS in the garrison of the Devizes, where Fairfax and Cromwell were at a stand whether they had best meddle with us, until they came to understand that the horse in quarters thereabout were not come into it, which upon all occasion were obliged. Then they laid close siege to us. One or two souldiers had run over the works to the enemy, and informed them how all things stood with us, or they had not besieged us.—The enemy, with incessant peales of muskets, great guns, and mortar-pieces, played upon us, that it past us all day and night at our line, without the least reserve, that we could do no more, when we might have done better with our expected numbers, we resigned. I having

the guard by the river side, and standing by Sir Jacob Ashley, a bearded arrow stuck into the ground betwixt his legs. He pluckt it out with both hands, and said, "You rogues, you mist your aim."*

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* This is perhaps the last mention of the use of the bow and arrow in England in actual battle. In Montrose's wars, many of the remote Highlanders continued to act as archers; but in England, the once formidable long bow had, in the middle of the seventeenth century, fallen into almost total desuetude.

CHAPTER VII.

How Twenty-Seven Officers and Reformads went designedly Ten Miles upon the Downes, to Charge the Rear-Guard of an Army, Singing and Fighting.

When the King marcht with his army from Oxford to Killington Green, to attend Essex and Waller's motion, it appeared their design was to go to the west, as they did, though they divided their armies and marcht several ways, as thought would be most convenient for their better accommodation, being asunder; yet still they followed one another westward, and we followed after them, and beat them one after another, which would have been a harder task for us to do had they kept together, as it was admired they did not. Two accidents occurred at this time to us. A party of the enemy's horse marcht

amongst us, as some of our own men, call Mr Sackfield out of his quarters, mount him, and steal him away. Also a souldier's bandileer, who guarded the colours, tooke fire, and went off in a heat, which made an incredible confusion amongst us.

CHAPTER VIII.

How we overtook Waller's Army, which we engaged and beat.

At Crobedery Bridge, and thereabouts, we overtook Waller's army, which we engaged and beat, took Wemes, general of their artillery, prisoner; and withal took his leather guns, which proved very serviceable to the King.* The second Newberry fight at Dolman's House, and, my going a volunteer with my worthy friend Major Richard Lloyd, who was upon a commanded party, was worth to my Lord Caulfield his life that day, for just as he came out of the mill, stript and wounded, a lusty souldier was

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* These small brass and leather guns, seven in number, were mounted in barricadoes of wood, each of which stood on wheels, and thus formed a species of moving battery.

fetching of a desperate blow with the butt-end of his musket, to make an end of him, which of a sudden I prevented, and made him prisoner upon the top of the hill by the windmill. He was examined before the King, and declared he was Lord Caulfield's son, of Ireland, and a cornet in the Parliament service: And Wemes was severely rebuked by his Majesty for deserting his service, and to come in arms against him.*

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* Wemyss had been created by Charles master-gunner of England, with a pension of 300l. a-year, which, as he was a Scotchman, gave some distaste to the English. Nevertheless he embraced the cause of the Parliament very keenly, and became master of Essex's ordnance. He seems to have been an engineer of some invention and ingenuity, supposing him to be the same Colonel James Wemyss, to whom, in 1661, the Scottish Parliament granted a monopoly of "several inventions of light ordnance, throwing from ane quarter of ane pund bullet to ane demi-cannon that carries ane threttie-twa pund shot, and other engines of war, as mortar-pieces, pillards, sufficient experience whereof was seen at Gogar fight, Lerber Bridge, and elsewhere;" allowing to him, as inventor, the exclusive sale thereof to subjects and strangers for the space of "three nineteen years."

CHAPTER IX.

How the King's impaired Army, after beating two several Armies one after another, after exceedingly hard Marches; and after his Majesty had commanded Fifteen Hundred Horse to the relief of Banbury, was engaged by Three fresh Armies, and engaged in his Royal Person.

Having thus cleared the way, we arrived with less trouble into Cornwall, where likewise we routed Essex, took all his army of enfantry prisoners, with armes, ammunition, and artillery, and sent him packing to sea; whereupon it was conceived to be farr easier for us to have defeated his forlorn shattered cavalrey, being left to shift for themselves, than it was to defeat them both in their united strength, as we did, or at least to have forst them to imbrace such conditions as was by capitulation made in that country by Lord Hopton and Fairfax, and

then it had been impossible for them (like Hydras) to have so increased into three armies, as they did when they met the King in his return from Cornwall, the second Newberry fight. The King in his speech to Reading soldiers, desired that his word of a Prince might be kept inviolably, though they break their conditions, saying, "What is't but a rebel dare do?"*

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* The author alludes to the capitulation of Reading, which was ill observed by the Roundheads. But, notwithstanding the expressions in the text, this breach of treaty was made frequently a plea for retaliation when the Royalists found an opportunity: And this led on each side to repeated breaches of articles of surrender or treaty.

CHAPTER X.

How, upon some Engagements, that Exercise which your Majesty, in your junior Years, was often pleased to command me to practice before you, hath, under God, preserved me when there was no other visible help.

At Newberry first fight, when we beat the enemy upon all disadvantage, from the town's end to the top of the hill by the heath, a wing of Essex his horse moving gently towards us, made us leave our execution upon the enemy, and retreat into the next field, where were several gaps to get to it, but not direct in my way; yet, with the colours in my hand, I jumpt over hedge and ditch, or I had died by multitude of hands. We kept this field until midnight, and until some intelligence came that Essex was marching away with a great part of his army, and that he had buried a great many of his great guns by two

of the clock in the afternoon. Near unto this field, upon the heath, lay a whole file of men, six deep, with their heads all struck off with one cannon shot of ours. We pursued Essex in his retreat, took Reading without opposition, made it a garrison, and Sir Jacob Ashley governor.

CHAPTER XI.

How Manchester, with his Army of Seven Thousand Horse and Foot, (when Cromwell was his Lieutenant-General,) were most shamefully beaten out of the Field by a Party of Fourteen Hundred commanded Men out of the King's Army.

The second Newberry fight, we drew up upon the same ground which the enemy fought us upon the first battle. After our long march from Cornwall, and great want of intelligence, we were exposed unavoidably to fight three fresh armies, which waylaid the King to oppose his march; whereupon a most remarkable piece of service was done by the great contrivance of Major-General Lord Ashley, and great performance of eight hundred foot, commanded by Colonel Thelwell; four hundred foot, commanded by Sir Richard Page, at Dolman's House;

two hundred horse, commanded by Sir George Lysle, in the interval between Dolman's House and the field Thelwall was in. These fourteen hundred thus posted, beat off twice Manchester's army of seven thousand horse and foot; and at their third and last onset, beat them clear out of the field, and stript abundance of them. Some fewe hours after, my Lord Ashley marcht away with us by moonshine, and of necessity, through a narrow filthy pass of puddle and mire, just by the hedge-side that parted us and the two armies, Essex and Waller's, who were as quiet as if they had taken the same opportunity of drawing off too, and doubtless would have been forst to it, had not the King commanded fifteen hundred prime horse to the relief of Bambury, when it was too late to call them back to our assistance, and for us to avoid fighting, being so strangely surprised as we were: but, I presume, that a forst putt was never better managed, nor came off with more honour, as to beat one army away, the other two out of the way, and so cleared our way, lodged our artillery at Denington Castle, and marcht for Oxford.

CHAPTER XII.

How a Party of Three Hundred Men made a Salley upon a Regiment of Fifteen Hundred, and, after a long Dispute, beat them clear out of the Field.

The day before the second Newbery fight, when the King had made an end of his march, and was incampt about three or four of the clock in the afternoon, within a mile and an half (or thereabouts) of Newbery, news came that Bambury was besieged; whereupon his Majesty was pleased to command the Earle of Northampton to go with his brigade of fifteen hundred horse to the relief of it; when, in the mean time, the King, for his own part, I dare swear, knew not in the least, nor did not in the least suspect, that on the other side of the town were three armies, drawn up upon the most advantageous ground they could pitch and chuse, to fight him; had his Majesty received but the least hint of this, certainly he

would not have so much weakened his impaired harassed army, after the defeating of two armies, soon one after another, and after the loss of so many men killed and wounded, as to part with fifteen hundred of his best horse, when the very next day he was perforce to fight the three armies which waylaid him, and withal was conducted into a trap, which the enemy had laid to do it. Howsoever it came about, for when the King marcht with his army faire and orderly through the town, into the spacious Spinham Lands there, he drew up, as near as he possibly could be, in the centre of his enemies; for right before him were posted Essex and Waller's armies, drawn up in the enclosures, and in ambushes of hedges and ditches, and fronted with cannon to maintain that pass. On his right wing was Manchester's army of seven thousand, (some of themselves have declared that they were ten thousand,) to wheel and fall on his rere. On his left wing was the deep river, as considerable as another army, to inclose and hem him in amongst them as they did.—His Majesty, being thus pinfolded with walls of armed men, every way ready to execute their fury upon him when he did but stir, advanced, with the major part of his army, against the cannon's mouth, to get to charge the two

armies, which were so strongly linked together against him; and at their encounter, there was very hot fiery dispute, that the thundering peales and volleys of great and small guns, were sufficient sign for Manchester and Cromwell to fall on the King's rere with their army of seven thousand, as they did very boldly, desperately fought it, and were most wonderfully paid off, by fourteen hundred commanded men out of his Majesty's army, as before mentioned. All this while the King was laying on with all eagerness imaginable, to beat through the two armies, which were so wickedly stubborn and obstinate, that they rather made to a head, and forst him back further and further into Spinham Lands, that both the enemies armies were in the open field at close fight with the King and his army, and put them so hard to it, that his Majesty was engaged in his royal person, General Ruthin wounded fighting by his side, and several persons of quality killed by them.* This height of extremity the King was

* The enemy carried the village of Speen at the first onset; and their right wing of horse advanced with such fury as to disorder those of the King. Even the presence of Charles himself could not restrain his cavalry from giving ground; and his own person had been in great danger, but for a gallant and desperate charge made by the Queen's regiment of horse, under command of Sir John Causfield.

in, did so exasperate the great spirit of his approved brave cavaliers, that they fell on with invincible courage, and pouthered them back into their enclosures of hedges and ditches. Then the night drew on, and parted us with a seeming joint consent on both sides, for we marcht away with our army all night by them, and they did not in the least disturb us, nor we gave them no occasion in the least for it; and so we came off to admiration. The next morning we marcht for Oxford, not without some skirmishing in the rere. If Manchester had any good inclinations towards the King, why did he accept of Cromwell for his Lieutenant-general, who was so inveterate an enemy to the King and his government?

CHAPTER XIII.

*The Author's Impartiality shewn in his Defence of Manchester and Cromwell.**

THE Parliament needed not to question Manchester or Cromwell for that day's work, though it rendered a foul suspicion in their conduct, to be so shamefully beaten; but it clearly appeared they were outdone in soldiership and policy; for when they, with their army, first marcht over the ground, and had the full survey of it, they did not so well apprehend the advantage that was to be made of it, as did our major-general, Lord Ashley, who, from his great experience and quick apprehension, had no sooner cast his eye upon't, but he manned those places, and presently commands a great body of horse to stand as a blind between us and the enemy, and picqueer

* The title is ironical. The author only defends them against the charge of being false to what he considered as their disloyal cause.

with them. In the meantime, Colonel Thelwell was making up of the gaps in the quickset-hedge, which he was to maintaine, and making of the ditch under it deeper and wider; Sir George Lysle and Sir Richard Page were fixing of themselves, as well as they could, at their posts. Then orders were given to Thelwell not to give fire upon the enemy until they came within a pike's length of him. Sir Richard Page needed no such orders, for they came near to him as they moved by: nor could they come to charge Sir George Lysle but through the enemy's fire, for Sir Richard Page,* with his leather guns, loaden with key-shot, and his four hundred musketters in the dry moate, plaid between the pailes upon the flanks of them; and Thelwell, with his body of musketters, likewise played through the quickset-hedge in their teeths, that made a heavy slaughter among them, maymed and so disabled them, that they came in disorder to charge Sir George Lysle, which made him the better able to defend himself against so powerful an opposition: And it

* Sir Richard Page was advantageously posted in a castellated and moated mansion, called Stone-House, which Cromwell and Manchester's forces were compelled to pass in advancing to the attack.

is observable, that sometimes great commanders have miscarried, in too much slighting of an enemy, and trusting to their own strength: and it is very like those two commanders were under the same mistake, deceived as presuming too much in their exceeding number of men, which, in all probability, might fairly promise them victory, having on their side more than six to one the odds of it; and withal knew, that at the same instant the King was hotly ingaged in close fight with the other two armies, which were so severe upon him, that he was forst to send for my Lord Hopton to come to his assistance, who was a reserve to Sir George Lysle; and he could as ill spare him at that time, that it was thought impossible for him to be without him or some other reserve: But that Sir George did wonders to maintain his post with that party of his own men, without a reserve, and so bravely incouraged them to stick close to him (the King being ingaged in the next field in his royal person,) that he threw off his upper garments to charge in his shirt, whereupon they all unanimously, as one man of one mind, resolved to live and die with him upon the spot, fought it courageously, and came off victoriously; and if Essex and Manchester deserved the name of having any kindness for the King, as

it was rumoured amongst us, they could not have a better opportunity to express it than in that time at Newbery; for they were the Parliament's strength and masters, if they pleased to do the King and themselves the right as to own it; nor they never before had so much of clear and undoubted reason to know their own palpable errors, and his goodness and clemency, for there were some thousands of soldiers fought against him that day, who knew very well that the King very lately had given them their lives in Cornwall, when it lay justly in his power to cut them all off, banish them, or imprison them, and did neither, but bid them go home and be honest men; and rather than they would do so, did according to an old proverb,—"*Save a thief from the gallows, and he will hang you if he can:*" so they doubled and trebled their forces, to come and cut him off, and had sacrificed him that day, to all men's opinion, but that it was more God's will to defend him, than any kindnes they shewed him.*

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* Essex and Manchester were true and honourable servants to the cause which they had espoused. But, like all men of worth and wisdom, they were desirous of peace; and the knowledge that they were so, occasioned rumours to arise that they had a secret inclination towards the King.

CHAPTER XIV.

Further Argument on the Second Battle of Newbery.

And though the King beat Essex, made him fly for't, tooke all his army of foote prisoners, and, from his too much tenderness and pity, remitted them; yet there was no reason that any should persuade his Majesty that then he was secure from having any more enemies in England, since there were forces in the north against him,—since Waller, with his beaten army, hastened for London to recruit,—since Manchester and Cromwell were about London, with an army ready,—and since some of the King's great commanders did no better than play booty, to let Essex his remnant of shattered horse go after his foot, saying, "Ever make a golden bridge for your enemy." So when the King could have blockt up all the lane's-end they were to march through with his artillery, face them

with his army, and send such conditions as his Majesty should think expedient, which must needs be acceptable, considering his abundant goodness, and their own forlorn desperate condition at that present;* they let them go by consent after their foot to recruit, which they did with so much haste and great performance, that before the King, with his army, could march from Cornwall, within a little more than a mile of Newbery, the enemy's armies, all three, were come on the other side of the town, and there stayed, lurking in obscurity, till the King marcht into their mouths, for he drew up within their armes of pikes and muskets, that he could not stirr neither front,

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* The author here and elsewhere alludes to the success of Charles at Saltash, in Cornwall, where Essex was reduced to such extremity, that he himself escaped by sea; and although Balfour, by a very able manœuvre, carried off his horse, whilst almost surrounded by the King's army, the foot, under Skippon, were left to make such conditions as they could. Clarendon allows there was great oversight in permitting the escape of the cavalry; but contends, that in allowing favourable terms to the infantry, he proceeded with prudence as well as clemency. Yet, if the King could have compelled these seven thousand men, for they were no fewer, to surrender on discretion, there seemed little wisdom in allowing them to march off in the condition and character of an army.

flank, or rere, but upon their fire; and had it not been for his great fighting, and more for the great providence that attended him in that imminent danger, he had not come off so well as he did.

CHAPTER XV.

Retreat after the Second Fight of Newbery, and Reflections thereon.

And the messenger that came to the King by Newbery, and brought him intelligence that Bambury was besieged, might as well at the same instant tell him, that on the other side of the town were three armys waylaid him; then, perhaps, he had thought fitt to keep on the same side the town he was on, and plant some of his great guns against the town's end and the river side, and let the enemy that pursued him fall on upon his cannon's mouth (if they liked it) rather than do as he did, fall upon theirs; and if the King did approve of so doeing, then he could easily march away that night, and send to his army at Oxford, and to the Earl of Northampton, to come and meet him where he thought convenient. All

that the enemy could do that night, was to disperse orders for the three armies to make ready for a march the next morning, which had been a great trouble to decamp, bring off their carriages, draw up and march through the narrow town, and then draw up on the other side of it, which would take up most part of the day, and give the King almost a day and a night's march before them, to meet his other army: and, if the enemy durst hazard one of their armies to interpose (if they could) between the King's army from Oxford, and meeting with him, then he could better fight with two armies than with three, and upon his own choyce of ground, and the assistance of the brave Earl of Northampton, with his brigade of fifteen hundred brave horse: and questionless the army from Oxford had rather ingage one of the enemy's armies, than keep off and let them all three at once fall upon the King, as they did at this second Newbery fight, by the strange conduct of them who marcht away with the King and his army from Cornwall, as far as to Newbery; as if he had been blind and deaf that he could neither see nor hear of an enemy until he could not march a field further, but must stumble upon them for any notice he had of them.

CHAPTER XVI.

Third Engagement at Newbery.

The third Newbery, we went for our artilery, and with a resolution to fight, if we found the enemy to appear so too; for we fairely drew up, and we offered them battel; but they declin'd it,—only skirmisht a little insignificantly, and we at leasure marcht away with our artilery.

A Parliament officer of my acquaintance, who was then there, told me the reason why they would not engage with us, was, because one of their armies was commanded away.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Author's gallantry at the Devizes.

When a party of Waller's horse beat up our quarters at the Devizes, and furiously scour'd the streets, giving no quarters to any souldiers they mett, then I run and leapt across the street of such a sudden bye them as to escape both their swords and pistols, when they killed Captain Jones, with others, and shot Ensign Garroway in the neck.

And to be quitt with them, a knot of my own associats, officers and reformads, belonging to the garrison, came to pass away an hour or two with me at my quarters, and there contracted to make a party, to go and fall upon Waller's rear-guard at Marlborough town end; and withall strictly resolv'd, that not a word should be spoaken after once their swords were drawn, but all to march on

in order, and unanimously to sing a brisk lively tune, (being a great part of their design) and so to fall on singing as they did;* beat the enemy, and pursued them through the town at mid-day, and market-day too; which so rejoic'd a number of loyal-hearted market-people, that their loud shouts gave an apprehension as if an army had come to second them. This strong alarm did so discompose their whole campe, that this small party had time enough to make good their long retreat, and to bring with them their well deserved prize they so bravely fought for, of prisoners, horse, and armes, without the loss of a man, and but one or two slightly wounded. Upon a retreat of a salley from Farrington, when one Mr Juell, (an accomplisht gentleman,) and a corporal of the garrison, fail'd to jumpe over a broad deepe ditch under the enemy's works, were both kill'd, I jumpt just after them, and quite over, or I might have been anatomiz'd, as Mr Jewell was.

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* The music of this air is given at the end. It greatly resembles the Scotch tune of "Up in the morning early."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of a Salley I made upon a guard of Fifty of the Enemy, kill'd, wounded, and tooke Prisoners all but One or Two, in less than Three Minutes time.

Upon a discourse with Sir William Courteney, (then Governor of Farington,) who told me he was really persuaded that I had an antipathy against a runaway cavalier; and that there was fifty or sixty of them kept a guard in the Town Pesthouse, and asked of me if I would take a party and go and correct them, for deserting the King's service to turn rebels, I embrac'd it, and presently went upon the battrey to see what way best I might go to work; and by my observations, I could not apprehend any way possible of doing any good against them, for the Pesthouse was some three hundred paces distant from any part of our works. It had but one door, which was three

quarters made up with sods, full of musket loop-holes; they had works and guards on that side of the town, within a coyt's cast of ours, that we could not stir but they must know of it; and then they had a party of horse day and night attending at the maine-guard upon all occasions. These objections I would not make, though very excusably I might, to Sir William Courteney, or to any of them, for their advice; but went on my own way, being it was put upon me: And as I concluded with myself that there was but one way for it, that I took, hitt or miss. And it happned to be as I conjectur'd; for, by a flash of fire which came so low from the house, and the help of a perspective-glass, I made a discovery that the musket loop-holes were but breast-high without, and therefore, of consequence, must be so within. Then I went to the Governor, and told him that I was now ready for his commands, and that I would have every musketeer to load his musket with three carabine-balls made into cartrages; and likewise told the souldiers to file and run after me as fast as they could, and round the house, stooping under the musket loop-holes, which we presently commanded from the enemy, and pour'd in shott so fast, that they immediately cry'd out for quarters. which they had; and in

that short time of action their horse came to their relief, and in a manner charg'd our horse, which were my reserve, who shrunk a little, that I had been lost, being so far in the rere of the party that was going away with the prisoners, but for twelve or fourteen brave men of my special friends, who were resolv'd to bring me off, or fall themselves.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Author's Loyalty at Faringdon.

At the surrender of Faringdon, (which was the same with Oxford condition,) where were two hundred lusty souldiers offered to take their fortun with me wheresoever I went or ingag'd, which made the enemy tender a Field-Officer's command unto me, if I would bring with me those men, and take up arms with them, to go against the Scotts;* or if I came aloan, I should have a company, being so well known amongst them upon several

* This may have been when the King was with the Scots army at Newcastle, and when a breach seemed probable betwixt them and the English Parliament; for so matters stood when Oxford and Faringdon were surrendered.—Or more probably at a later period, when the Scots army entered England, under the Duke of Hamilton, to prevent the trial and execution of the King.

accounts, and withall urg'd several arguments to diswad me from having any thoughts that the Scotts army came to do the King any service, whatsoever they pretended; but their invitation upon that account did not at all relish with me, though I had neither lands, goods, nor tenements, to relieve myself, nor friends or relations, that I knew where to find, or how they stood affected in so long a discontinuance of time: And when I came to London, I was in so many plots and ingagements, that at last I was thrown into prison, which had cost me my life, but for my keeper, who, for my life, I was never since able to gratify, nor any other who in those days have highly obliged me: And when, by my keeper's means, I got my liberty, the fourth or fift day after, I was presented by Sir Thomas Sandys, upon Kingston-Heath, to be the first captain in the Earl of Holland's regiment of guards.* I omitted to insert in any other of my manuscripts, that in prison it was offered unto me, if I would be banisht, and swear never to serve the King, perhaps I should have my

* He alludes to the unhappy and misconducted attempt of the Earl of Holland to head an insurrection of the royalists at Kingston.

inlargement; but at my dislike of it upon those terms, I was told, in short, what I was to expect: then, in case my designs, which before I had time to force my liberty, should fail me, and to satisfie my friends why I had rather dye then live and swear never to serve my King, nor any of that royal race; I exprest it as well as I could, in few lines I made in verse upon my inseparable devotion to loyalty I call'd mistress; with my invective in a short character of Cromwell, and his never-to-be-forgotten Long Parliament, who had hang'd me for my loyalty but for my honest keeper.

Upon my inseparable devotion to Loyalty I call'd Mistress.

I am so fond a lover grown,
That for my mistres caus could dye;
Nor would injoy my love aloan,
But wish her millions more than I.

I am devoted to her hand;
A willing sacrifice could be,
If shee be pleas'd but to command,
To dye is easy unto me.

Cromwell's Character.

He's a sorte of a devil, whose pride so vast,
As he were thrown beyond Lucifer's cast,
With greater curse, that his plages may excell
In killing torments, and a blacker hell!

Upon the Long Parliament.

They tire the devil, for they would be worse
Than he himself, when he receiv'd a curse;
Sure it pain'd him to hatch so foule a brood,—
Vile, pickl'd villains, damn'd through every mood.
Oh! strange they are not swallow'd where they sitt,—
'Tis blasphemy to thinke what they commit.

CHAPTER XX.

*Remarks upon the Defeat at Kingston.**

THE people of Kingston understood very well our design; and most of them, being loyally affected, have voluntarilie offer'd to send provision enough into the field for us, and to arme all our unarm'd men; and questionles would have assisted us too, had they seen any conduct amongst us: but the general would not accept of any thing from them, but must needs march with us all into the town, which gave the enemy an opportunity to fall in upon our

* The insurrection at Kingston, which cost the Earl of Holland his life on the scaffold, was rashly undertaken, and carelessly conducted. His levies were surprised at their rendezvous, between Ervil and Non-Such Park, dispersed and routed, almost without resistance.

rere-guard, where that truly honourable and brave Lord Francis was kill'd;* and in a few days after, some of the enemy where I had been, acknowledg'd, that had our rere-guard been completely arm'd, as some had swords and no pistols, others with pistols and no swords, we had beat them; or had they seen but a file of men come to our relief, they had gon; or had we randezvous'd on the heath all night, it had been well enough, for any thing they durst attempt upon us, no more then when we past the house they were in. And truly, had we acted any thing like souldiers, we had drawn up in the inclosures of each side the narrow deepe lane, and there pitched our colours: then we had secur'd our rere-guard, and have bin able to defend ourselves against as many thousands as they were hundreds, upon the advantage we could have made. But we were more like men infatued; for we had neither word nor sign, though we knew the enemy to be in our rere, which caused so great a confusion

* Lord Francis Villars, brother to the witty Duke of Buckingham, a youth of a comely person and high spirit. He refused quarter, and was slain by some obscure hand.

amongst us, that we fell foule one upon another in the streets, when the enemy came no further than the lane's end where they charged us; and so we beat one another out of the most hopefull design that ever we had in England.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of some Replyes I made when examined before the Enemy.

When I was brought prisoner, to be examin'd before Oliver's Lords at Westminster, Scot, clearke to the Council, demands why I writt that the Parliament and the army were such two sore plagues to the kingdom? I told him, because they ruin'd the King and his friends. The Lords were no sooner gon, but he most inveterately says, "Sirra, thou art a villaine in thy hart! and, if I live, I will see thee hang'd." But it lay not in his power; for he had not been so soon taken where he was, but for me, tho' others had the repute and reward of it. Nor had the regiment of Guards in Flanders, for twice or thrice, continued a regiment there but for my care and mangement, tho' I am no more the better for't then that I have don others good in it.

When all our hopes of rysings, or any good to be don in or about London, were at an end, then I tooke a journey (tho' never so ill provided for it,) to Newcastle, to see what the Scots would do; and by that time I came there, there was an order of Parliament sent to the Scots, that they should not entertaine into their army any that formerly had serv'd the King. But a while after, in the extreamity I was in to subsist, and by my attempts to get to the town, to find out a friend, I was seiz'd upon for a malignant, and sent with a file of musketeers before the Major of Newcastle, (who was an exact fantique,) and lays it to me thus: "Well, had it pleas'd God to give you victory over us, as it pleas'd his Divine will to give us victory over you, ye had call'd us villaines, traytours, sons of whores; nay, you had kickt us too."—"You are in the right on't, sir," said I: At which he sullenly ruminat, whilst some of his Aldermen could not contain themselves for laughter; but being both of one opinion as to the point, he only banisht me the town, with a promis, that when I came againe, he would accommodate me with a lodging, which was to be in the Castle-dungeon, where many brave fellowes, that came upon the same account as I did, in hope the Scots would declare for the King, were starv'd to death by a reprobat Marshal.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Author's Adventures till his arrival in Holland.

When I had waited a tedious time, up and down about Newcastle, in pennance to know what the Scotts would do; and, in conclusion, all to prove starke nought, then I design'd to go for Holland. In the mean time, some of the Scotts officers very kindly invites me with them into Scotland, assuring me, that from thence were frequent opportunities for Holland: whereupon I went with them as farr as Bogygeeth, the Marquis of Huntley's house, in the Highlands,* where I saw so much of inhumanity and

* Bog-of-Gicht, the principal seat of the Marquis of Huntley. That noble person had suffered imprisonment, on account of his loyalty, ever since December 1647, and was finally beheaded at Edinburgh, 16th March, 1649. His castle and estates were at present in the hands of his old feudal enemy, the Marquis of Argyle, a man not unlikely to exercise on the depressed cavaliers those severities which his own estate and clan had experienced from Montrose in these unhappy troubles.

cruelty executed upon loyall persons, that I had not the patience to stay any longer amongst them; but desir'd Captaine Symrel* and Captaine Whitehead, (my very great friends,) to procure a pass for me, which David Lesley refus'd to give. Then Major Meldrum, (one very much a gentleman, and a souldier,) was concern'd at it, and went with me to him, and told him, that he could not in honour deny a gentleman his pass who was invited into their countrey by some of his own officers, and had ingaged their lives for his behaviour. Upon this, Lesley, grinning, told me, "Sir, you never serv'd on our side." I told him, "No, sir, nor never will." Then he bid me go as I came: and so I had my dispatch, only tooke leave of those who had no better devotion for him then I had: and then I marcht onwards towards Edenbrough; and when I came on this side of it, something near Seaton-House, I was so put to it for want of moneys, that I was glad,

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* Symrel is spelled in imitation of the Scots pronunciation of the proper name, Somerville, sounding the letter *v* as an open *u*. The officer here named seems to be James Somerville of Drum, ancestor of Lord Somerville, who then served in the Scottish army.—See his history in the Memorie of the Somervilles, vol. II. He is stated, by his son and biographer, to have been always a loyalist at heart; and was probably well-disposed to patronise a distressed officer in Captain Gwyn's condition.

rather than faile, to take up my quarters in a church-poarch, which I was not so much troubled at, to lye all night upon the bare stones amongst the dead, as I was to want something to eat before I had laine down, for I was upon short commons the day before. The next day after I was early up, soon drest, and a great way to go; and my study was where to be intertain'd in the day, for I knew well enough where to go at night, as long as churches were in my way: and I had not gon above a mile, but mett with some real friends of my old acquaintance, who were more glad to see me bear it so well in that condition, than sparing to assist me upon the account that brought me into that countrey, and tooke me with them back to Edenbrough, to recompence me with a better night's lodging then I had the night before; and ther accidentally mett with a sea-officer of my acquaintance, who told me of a great design he was upon of doeing the King service, which he would impart to me when we came aboard, if I would go with him; and when we came aboard of a passage-boat, bound for Cathnes, in the Highlands, he discover'd his design unto me, which was so very ill a thing, that no good could attend it; but, with a small perswasion, he declin'd it. And when we arriv'd

at the Week in Cathnes, I had enough of Captaine Smith's designs; and by a match of jumping I made with one John a Groat, a skipper, I gain'd my passage back to Edenbrough. From thence I travel'd to Newcastle, from thence to London, from thence to Graves-end, and from thence, with much adoe, to get to sea, where I thought never to have any more to do at land, for the conjuring stormes we were in, but by a great providence that we arriv'd at Serick Seas* in Holland, where I had some repose: Yet I was always soly devoted never to rest any where, no longer then your Majesty had any commands for me, and I to have my health, limbes, and liberty: Therefore I went againe and againe into Scotland, before I had don with it.

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* Zurick-Zee.

PART SECOND.

HOW STRANGELY CARRIED WERE SOME OF MARQUES MONTROS HIS AFFAIRES IN HOLLAND, WHICH WAS IN ORDER TO HIS LAST INGAGEMENT INTO SCOTTLAND; AND LIKEWISE HIS PUBLICK CONCERN IN THE GENERAL, WERE MANAGED BEFORE AND AFTER HIS ARRIVAL IN THE HIGHLANDS, UNTILL UNHAPPILY HE WAS BETRAID INTO THE HANDS OF HIS MORTALL ENEMYS.

CHAPTER I.

The Author engages in Montrose's Service.

AT Amsterdam, before he went over into Scottland with the Earle of Kaynoole, upon Marques Montros his ingagement, I was told by those who condol'd us, (as knowing our busines better then some of ourselves did,) that

we were all betraid; and by our proceedings it appear'd to be so, as thus: First, we were to have a small fleet vessel, with twelve guns; and, instead of that, we had an old one, new vamp't, without a gun; then we were chast at sea by a Parliament frigot, which the tempestuous weather kept off, and as that might soon faile us, we were prepar'd, as knowing the worst, to receave our doome bravely, with an attempt to board the enemy, sinke or swim; or had there been ever so many of them, we were all resolv'd, with the Earle of Kaynoole, in that desperat condition, rather to be buried alive with our swords in our hands, than dye any other way less honourable, and more cruelly, at their choice: and when, through the extreamity of continued stormes, we arrived (as Providence would have it) at our port, there had been, for three weeks, three more Parliament men-of-warr, impatient at our long coming; and, at the very hour we came, they went some other course to looke us, as though we were not out of sight; but as the evening drew on, and the fog which arros obscur'd us, then we came secure ashoar.*

* Montrose, in his last ill-fated expedition, landed in the Orkneys, where he recruited his handful of forces by a compulsory levy amongst the unwarlike islanders.

CHAPTER II.

Verses on the Author's Deliverance.

UPON so eminent a danger, and strange deliverance, I had an inclination to make something in rhyme upon't, the rather as a witnes; for I know not of one man now alive that was then there.

VIEW the wonders, and you will never find
A spirit more martial then Kaynoole's mind.
I leape sore dangers, and let them look as grim
As death, to tempt them, nothing troubles him;
For he's the man of men that first begun
To war against a fleet without a gun.
He knew no fear, yet wisely understood
Providence waited on a caus so good.
It prov'd so,—for Neptun grew angry, swell'd
With the villaines insolence that rebell'd;
The waves so stirr'd about, still mounting high,
To guard the fearfull road, as we past by:
And Borias even burst with freenes to blow,
We were toss'd (Lord knows how,) to quitt the foe.
Thus winds and seas, Kynoole, shew'd thee great love.—
They had directly orders from above.

CHAPTER III.

Message from Lesley to Kinnool, and his Answer.

A WHILE after that we were in quarters in those several islands of Orkney, David Lesley was sent with a considerable force of horse and foot to subpres us; and before he came to the water side, which he was to cros over first, sent a packet to the Earle of Kynoole, and, amongst other circumstances, declar'd, that by all the obligation and interest that ever was between them, the best service he could do to his Lordship, was to advise him speedily to make his retreat into some other countrey; for his orders were to be severly executed upon him and his party: which my Lord Kaynoole receiv'd with so much indignation, that he commanded the packit to be burnt under the gallows, by the hand of the hangman; and his Lordship himself was to see it don. Upon this so publick and general a defiance, David Lesley presently pro-

secuts in his comands; and when he had boarded several boats-full of horse and foot, to come and fall upon us, there arros so great and sudden a storme, that they could not stirr, before another strange relief came, by a counter command sent to Lesley, that where ere it reacht him he was to quitt all former orders, and forthwith to return and march to the west, against a greater invasion there; which at last prov'd to be but false allarum, whatsoever the design was, more then to divert them from us, and to give us a longer respiet in the countrey.

CHAPTER IV.

Earl of Kinnoule's Death.

About two months after, the Earle of Kynoole fell sick at Bursey, the Earle of Murton's house, and there dyed of a pluresy, whose loss was very much lamented, as he was truly honourable, and perfectly loyal.*

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* The author is here at singular variance with the Scottish genealogists. William, third Earl of Kinnoul, is by them represented as having succeeded his father in 1644. It is agreed on all hands, that he was a loyalist, and joined Montrose: But far from representing him as dead in 1650, the date of Montrose's last and fatal expedition, he is stated to have escaped from the Castle of Edinburgh in 1654, and having instantly joined Middleton, (in which case Gwyn must again have met with him,) there to have been taken by the English in the Braes of Angus, and finally to have died in 1677. See Wood's Peerage of Scotland, article Kinnoul.

CHAPTER V.

Sir John Hurrey attacks the Enemy at the Pass of Ord.

When Marques of Montros arriv'd amongst us into Orkney, and had settled affaires as he thought most expedient in those several islands, he cros'd over into Cathnes, in the Highlands, where, in two or three days after, our Major-General, Sir John Hurrey, went with a party of three hundred foot, to ingage an enemy treble his number, at a pass called the Ord, which they thought to maintain and oppose us in our march. This pass is a steepe hill, with a strong river at the bottome of it, which we waded through, and scrambl'd up the hill in disorder, that the enemy, upon these several great advantages, might have don so great an execution upon us, as few or none should have gon to tell what became of the rest:

but they had not the patience to stay so long and do it, for the haste they were in to be gon, as most of them were no souldiers, but countrey bumkins, there called Whigs.*

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* Not from sour-milk, as is somewhere alleged, but from the cry of the west country horse-dealers to their trains of horses.—To *Whig*, is to make haste. Hence "Whig-away," and "Whig-amore," was the usually cry of those country-jockies, who bequeathed their name to a numerous political party. The insurrection of the Ayrshire Presbyterians, who expelled the Commission of Estates from Edinburgh in 1648, was called the Whig-amore's Raid.

CHAPTER VI.

Colonel Grymes [Grahame] retreats into Orkney, upon the Defeat of Montrose.

Soon after, Montros marcht further into the Highlands, and Collonel Grymes* (his natural brother,) was coming up with a recruit of five hundred more men to him, and were come something near the place where he was defeated, which made Collonel Grymes to retreat, and march back into Orkney, where one Sir William Jonson† was left governor: and upon a debate amongst them

* Grahame, often pronounced, on the English Border, Grime.

† Mis-spelled for Johnson. Bishop Wishart notices amongst Montrose's followers, "Henry Grahame, the Marquis's own natural brother;" and "Colonel Johnson, an old and resolute officer." We learn from the same authority, that these two gentlemen were left almost defenceless in the town of Kirkwall.

what best to do, they only talk'd (and that was all,) as if they would go by sea, and rescue Montros, which they easily might have don, as there was no fear of an enemy thereabout, since the party of horse which beat him had don their work, and were gon far enough from those parts, and himself in the custody of a pretended old friend,* who had few or no more for a guard upon him then were the family and servants of the house wherein he was in restraint, and in a manner conceal'd too, untill there came fourth a declaration, that whosoever should apprehend and secure him, should have such a summe of money for his reward: But, in the mean time, had we don any thing, we could not have don less then endeavour to fetch him off; having had time enough, and to spare, for it, and the house he was in so very near the sea,† as an opportunity

* Montrose was taken by Neil M'Leod of Assint, who having been one of the Marquis's followers, hesitated for a time what course to pursue; but at length, partly from fear, and partly for the lucre of four hundred bolls of oatmeal, he delivered up his gallant general to Lesley's soldiers.

† The Castle of Ardvrach, the seat of Neil M'Leod of Assint, seems the place alluded to. It is situated on the north side of the loch of Assint, a large salt-water lake, and may have been liable to such surprisal as our author hints at. But it seems improbable that Montrose remained there long enough after his defeat, to have given Johnson time to have embarked from Kirkwall, and doubled the northern extremity of Scotland. An-

offred for it: but the governor of Orkney choos'd rather to take some of the merchants' shipps out of their harbour to carry himself, and others whom he pleas'd, away with him, leaving some of us behind a sacrifice to Lesley, and others our foes in the countrey. Howsoever, I mett with the best of the worst luck, for, by a kindnes which I had don not long before to a gratefull person, came so home to me as to preserve me strangely; and my last faire escape was an opportunity to get in an open boat for Shetland, and from thence in a herring-bus for Holland, when your Majesty was under sayle for Scotland.

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other scheme for the liberation of the gallant Marquis had nearly succeeded. At the house of Grange, where he was quartered for a night, the lady so "drug'd the possets" of his guards, that they all slept soundly, while Montrose, in a lady's dress, passed through amongst them, and was only discerned, and stopt by one of the outposts, where the centinel had not had his share of liquor. See the *Memorie of the Somervilles*, and the *Memoirs of Montrose*, Edit. 1819, p. 380.

CHAPTER VII.

The Author returns to Scotland.—A diverting Adventure.

In Holland I have allways made my condition with the officers, not to stay (nor did not,) when there was any thing stirring of action for my King; and at my return from Montros his ingagement, and unhappy defeat, the next occasion which offred itself was General Midleton's ingagement likewise into Scotland, with whom I went, notwithstanding my great weakenes after a severe fitt of sicknes, and the extreamity I had run through twice in that countrey before: yet all signified no more with me (in comparison) then it is with a woman in labour; for I as soon forgot it, from the great devotion I ever had to persist in my loyal duty: and when we came to the Fly, and staid there three or four days, seven or eight of us being in quarters at a Scotts house, where the man, wife,

and daughter, were possest (against all gainesayings) that the King was in disguise amongst us; and for the conceit sake that such a thing might be, and to humour their fancy in it, we put Mr Ball, a proper hansome person, who they tooke for the King, to sitt in a great chayr in the parlor, over against the door, which we had lockt, and tooke out the key designingly, that they might relieve one another in peeping into the key-hole, as they did, and saw how we attended him with all the cerimonies immaginable; and when he thought fitt, gave us a sign with hand to be cover'd; then we put on our hatts, to null all distingtion, and became familiar comrads as before: A while after the door was open, the mother and daughter, with the goodman, laging in the rere, came, supplicating few of us standing at the street-door, that he and they might have the honour to kiss the King's hand, since he despis'd not the meanes of his entertainement in so poor a subject's house as he was pleas'd to come into. We told them it was strange how they came to know it; but since it was so, if they would be conjur'd to silence, and not speak on't, they should; whereupon they replid, that they would rather dye then divulge it: and presently they went to uncase, and put on their best

cloaths, which (in a manner) was as soon don as at three motions, for hast to kis the King's hand. The goodman led into the roome, in a trembling awe, the mother and daughter fil'd after, melting in tears, and on both knees kist his hand, and wheel'd away with aboundance of satisfaction. A short while after, as we were goeing to dinner, there were several sorts of wine privately convey'd into [the] roome for us; and when we had eat plentifull, and drunke in aboundance, Mr Ball grew heavy and drowsy that he went to lye down: The goodwife observing him, presently commands her daughter to go waite upon him, and know if he wanted for any thing; and upon her stay something extraordinary, the mother tells us, "Truly, gentlemen, if my daughter proves with bern, the child shall not want for the cost:" But at parture, they were highly troubled that he would not accept of those rings and jewells, which they purchast at so dear a rate, to present him, as a toaken that he would be pleas'd to remember them when he came to his kingdom.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Author passes the Winter in Caithness.

When we left the Fly, and were under sayle, we had a faire passage, without any kind of disturbance; that we arriv'd safe into the Highlands of Scotland, lodg'd our artilery and ammunition at an old castle called Skeebo, (or Skelbo,) where we staid for some days, untill the general, with some few with him, had gon up further into the countrey; then he sent for us, and put us into winter quarters in Cathnes, and thereabouts.

CHAPTER IX.

Difference between Earle of Clinkern and Monro.

In the spring of the year, about May, General Midleton and the Earle of Clinkern* mett in a town in the Highlands, called Dornach, where Clinkern was to resign all former commands unto Lord Midleton; and before they all parted that night, Lieutenant-General Monrow and Clinkern chance to clash, and the next day fought, which prov'd very ominus and unhappy; for it created factions and animosities amongst them, in so much that it was conceav'd to be the greatest obstruction of any thing whatsoever to the ruin of that design; for, in a short time after, we rather decreas'd then increas'd, and were chast up and down the Highlands by General Munke and Mor-

* A Narrative of the Earl of Glencairn's Expedition, from the original manuscript, follows these Memoirs, with a particular Account of the Duel betwixt Glencairn and Munro.

gan, who were a great many to many for us; and we did not care how seldome we see them, specially since little Morgan gave us a brush; then we wheel'd any way to avoyd them, as if that had been true what I heard say there and in England since, that our orders were not to fight; which I was apt to beleeve, when we neglected such impregnable passes, and rather seeme to draw them after us further and further into the countrey, as if that had been our chief design, and not to ingage them: but whatsoever it was, it presag'd not well with so ill a beginning.

CHAPTER X.

The Author, in the Highlands, escapes from the Enemy by means of a Shower

Towards the later end of the year we return'd for Cathnes, after we had dropt a great many by the way, and march from thence towards my Lord Rey's countrey, with the enemy pursuing of us, flanke and rere: But when our small forces came half a league beyond Thursaw, (a town in the Highlands,) they marcht through a river in a happy shoure of raine, which the small rivolets that came from the hills thereabouts swell'd so big and strong, that the enemy could not pursue us any further for that part of the day; so by that means we got so much the start of them, and kept it till we came to a rendezvous, in the middest of great hills, and there we disbanded, every man to shift for himself, which I was less able to do, being so very lame as I was: But my Lord

Nappier,* my constant great friend, was so concern'd with my condition, that he was pleas'd to recommend me to be with my Lord Rey for that winter season; and the next summer it was my fortun, in his Lordship's view, to do him acceptable service against his enemy.

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* Archibald, second Lord Napier, nephew of the great Marquis of Montrose, to whom he was so much attached, that they were said to be as inseparable as the Pope and the Church. He partook of all his uncle's victories and dangers, and died in Holland, just before the Revolution.

CHAPTER XI.

The Author returns to Holland with General Middleton.

From Stranaver, Captain Breams, Captain Gwilliams, Captain Richardson, and myself, marcht to the Isle of Skye, to the Lard of Macloud's house, where the General was, and where we continued, untill he tooke an opportunity to be shipt for Holland, and a troublesome passage we had of it.

And of two hundred officers, reformads, and gentlemen, that went over with the General, not one of them staid so long as to return with him but myself.

CHAPTER XII.

*The Author's Verses against Monro.**

General Midleton, in a discourse at Mackloud's house, did very much reflect upon the unworthines of his Lieutenant-General Monrow; to which repli'd Captaine Gwilliams, that Captaine Gwyn displaid him in his right colours, in a few lines he made in answear to the libelous lines thrown upon the Lords that deserted Midleton, though they staid whilst there was any hope or likelyhood of doeing any good.

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* Sir George Munro, who fought a duel with Glencairn, whom he appears to have insulted most gratuitously, was bred in the Low Country wars. He was amongst the officers employed by the Scottish Committee of Estates; but afterwards turned Royalist, like Middleton and others. In Balcarras's Account of Scots Affairs at the Revolution, Sir George Munro is mentioned as having been present at the head of the Militia in 1688, although "he had lost every thing which he has learned in Germany long ago," and retained only "affected nastiness, brutality, and fanaticism."

The General was pleas'd to aske of me if I had those lines about me. I told him yes; and presented them unto him as herein written:

Was not Monrow amongst us? What needs then
To cite the smaller crymes of other men?
Since he so grand a traytor prov'd, as though
Himself, by beat of drum, proclaym'd it so.

To confirm the world, how that treason can
Destroy an army, by a single man,—
You'l easy read, in his prodigious face,
His coming fatal to a loyal place.

PART THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

The Author in Flanders was made Lieutenant in the Royal Guards.

In Flanders your Majesty was pleas'd to make me one of the first Lieutenants in the Royal Regiment of Guards; and the first small action we were upon was against Mardick, where we went to know what we should do when we came next; for then we did nothing to our advantage, as was publickly known.

I was at the siege of Ardes, where we staid not so long as to do any good against it, before the French came to the relief of it; and we were so loath to leave it, that at last we came troting away.

CHAPTER II.

Antwerp Blockaded by Carasien.

I WAS at the most regular fortified and pleasant citty of Antwerpt, when the Magistrats, merchants, and burgers of it oppos'd General Carasien, for his unworthy, base exaction, and obstructing their ancient customes and privileges, which before were ever preserved inviolably, and of an exceeding great concern to them; but yet, for all that severity and grand abuse put upon them, they at last recolected themselves, and had so much witt in their anger, as to consider, that so potent an army was too appearant to many for them; and therefore, per force, must submit, according to an old saying, "Might overcomes right;" which inclin'd them, of necessity, to make the best of the worst as to comply with them, and purchase their peace at a dear rate from him, who was oblig'd to protect them, and not oppress them.

CHAPTER III.

Description of Antwerp, and Account of Carasien.

And their army did them a great and an unknown dammage as they were quartred in their most rarely contriv'd gardens and houses of pleasure, hardly to be parallel'd for all kind of delights and privat recreation, which was conceav'd to be superaboundant, and so magnificent for them, by Carasien, who greatly envi'd their happynes, since he (slim devil) had no such conveniency, or choyce places, to buckle with his miss, he made shift to get with child in the hollow tree in Brussells Parke, and most perfidiously, (as it was in his nature,) broake his vowes and protestations with her, to such an odium, that she, poor lady, for ever after renounc'd to have any more to do with man for his rogue's trick, and turn'd nun upon't. Carasien was but a privat Captain when he ridd in the hollow tree.

CHAPTER IV.

The Author's Account of the Action at Dunkirk.

I WAS at Dunkirk fight, when Marshal Turen rais'd his siege, to come and give us battle on the sand-hills; and well he might, having so much the odds of his side as his own army of enfantry to spare, unless what he did against the brave Prince of Cundey; for the English and Swiss had the van and onset of that day, which totally routed the Spanish foot and the Spanish cavelry, (for the most part of them,) when they thought themselves overmatcht, when they saw they were overnumbred, facest about in time, leaving them to fight that had a mind to it: But his Royal Highnes the Duke of Yorke,* most eminent

* There is an excellent and candid account of the battle of Dunkirk in the Memoirs of King James II. of whom the first General in the world has been heard to say, that he writes of military matters more forcibly and intelligibly than any author whom he has perused.

and memorable action upon the English left wing, drew them off from falling upon us, to make up the great breach he had made amongst them; and their reserve of horse, commanded by Marques Ramboor* of Brittany, were advancing upon us, till he understood we were English; then, from the great tendernes he own'd to have unto your Majesty's concern, as knowing who we were, commanded one of his Captaines to come and tender honourable conditions unto us, with high applaus for our resolution to stand the field when all had left us. When his Royal Highnes engag'd on our right wing, the Swiss on their right wing were at the same instant engag'd with a regiment or two of Spaniards, to whose assistance a troope of horse came briskly up to charge the Swiss: they receaved their volley-shott, and instead of falling in with sword and pistol, wheel'd to the left,—away they went, and came no more.

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* Rambures.

CHAPTER V.

The Author taken Prisoner.

Collonel Careles, Major Beversham, Ensign Crispe, Mr Rudston, our chyrurgeon, and myself, went with the Captaine that came and tendred conditions unto us; and the rest of the regiment had better come with us, then go away in parcels as they did, to the great sorrow of some, and the death of several.

CHAPTER VI.

His kind Reception by the French.

And when, upon hearty welcome, we had helpt the Captaine to eat up all the provision he had at present, he very worthily treated us at the Viveandeers; subpli'd us with moneys for the time we staid, for a convenient opportunity to be gon; let us go upon our own parole; contracted with us for half ransome; and in the night convey'd us, with a small party of horse, through the campe without the line; directed us how to avoyd the out-centinells, and, like a brave Brittaine as he was, to crown the rest of his civilities with the last, produced whol clusters of bottles of wine from under some of their cloaks, which we sacrifis'd in the remembrance of princes, till we were allmost all so in conceit, and fortified us purely to neglect those great watter plashes we waded through, and the broad deepe ditches, brimfull, we moil'd over, some-

times near diving with want of lopestaves; and when we arriv'd at Newport, to present ourselves and our condition unto his Royal Highnes the Duke of Yorke, we had the happines to see him safe preserved from the eminent danger he had been in amongst his enemies.*

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* Although the Duke of York was then engaged on the side of the Spaniards, yet when there was a rumour that he had fallen into the hands of the republican English, then the allies of France, Monsieur de Gudagin, who commanded the French infantry, traversed the field of battle with a select body, determined, should the Prince be prisoner amongst his father's enemies, that he would rescue him out of their hands, either by fair means or by actual force. *Memoirs of James II.* vol. I. p. 360.

CHAPTER VII.

Gallantry of some Private Soldiers.

I CANNOT ommitt an unparallel'd devotion exprest by eighteen or twenty privat souldiers, (questionless all gentlemen,) who came not with whom we had mad condition; but, by a mistake, unluckily fell into the hands of rather fillowes and hedge-birds, then any men of the mind of souldiers, as to cut, strip, and mangle them, at an inhuman rate, being disarm'd prisoners of warr, and then left at the ruines of an old house, where one of General Morgan's men told me they were, I found them: and upon my desire to know how they came to be so barbarously us'd, told me, becaus they would not part with their new cloathes, which troubled them, not so much for the want of them to cover their nakednes in that extreamity they were in, but as they were the King's guift unto them, which they priz'd as their lives.

CHAPTER VIII.

The same continued.

And their bravery, above all, was, that when their old English officers* (from whom they first came to us,) were to see them, told them, they all knew very well what it was to run away from their colours, specially to a foraign people, to come and fight against their countrey, friends, and relations; but howsoever, all should be kindly wav'd by the General and his officers, if they would return to their former colours; and likewise, all would be forgivn and forgotten, and care taken for the recovery of them, as if the prejudice they receav'd had been in their own countrey's service. They told them plainely, that they

* Those, to wit, who were in the service of the Republic or Protector, under whom, it seems, these men had served, and from whom they had escaped into the service of the King.

never serv'd them with any devotion, but merely for an opportunity to come and serve their own King; and, since their sad fate would not permit them to live and serve him, in spight of fate they would dye his martyrs, rather than renounce their allegeiance.

CHAPTER IX.

The Author commanded to Ipres.

Soon after the battell, I was commanded, with ten men, a sarjent, and a corporal, to go with a party of three hundred Irish, to waite upon the Prince Delin's commands at Iper; and when we had been there a while, he marcht, with four thousand men, into the countrey, upon a design, and had not gon farr, but an enemy was like to surprise him in his march; which made him countermarch it back to Iper sooner then he thought, or was expected.

CHAPTER X.

The Author's ill-treatment, and Remarks thereon.

And were ten men, a sarjeant, and a corporal, a proper command for a commission-officer,—then, in all reason, either Gwilliams, Munson, Broughton, or some other inferior officer, ought to have gon, and not I, that was a prisoner upon parole. I understood their design was to give Gwilliams an opportunitie to make his intrest to get the company to which I was lieutenant, my captaine kill'd in the field, and myself a prisoner at the head of my command: yet I repin'd not, since your Majestie was pleas'd to tell me, that, had you remembred me to be Collonel Slaughter's lieutenant, no man had come over my head: nor none did thereafter; for I had the two next succeeding vacances, which were Collonel Gross his company, and Sir Richard Maulevers', when persons of great intrest and quality could not obtaine either.

CHAPTER XI.

The Author's Generosity.

After we had been twelve or fourteen weeks upon extraordinary commands at Iper, we were as far from receaving any money, to inable us for service, as commonly were us'd to be, save only a half-peniworth of bread for twenty-four hours, and that when we could catch it; so that we liv'd upon as near to nothing, and as much upon the fresh ayre, as most poor men alive could do. But at last, there was privatly convey'd into my hand five weeks bread-money, due unto us in arrears since we came into the town, with advice to make use of it myself, and pay it when I could better spare it, and the party to have more need of it; for now they all liv'd well upon the spoile. I was both sincible and glad of it; but yet I call'd my sarjeant aside, and gave him the money,—bidd him pay himself and the party,—and withall to desire

them from me that they tell not the Irish souldiers of it, lest they mutter against their officers, why they had not their money as well as we ours; but the party's kindnes was above their secrets to me, for they could not conceal, but must needs devulge that which they so much approv'd off to be so real and justly don; when, on the contrary, others of their officers kept their money from them, and sent them abroad a-begging, which was so frequent in the English and Irish mouths, as never to be forgotten.

CHAPTER XII.

Remarks on the foregoing Passage.

THIS subtile contriv'd march was fixt upon me unavoidably; for, had I refus'd to go, then they had highly exclaim'd and inform'd against me for a grand mutineer, as not to obey command: And, on the other side, if I had been taken in armes, a prisoner upon parole, I had been hang'd without mercy: but I rather choos'd to take the hazard of hanging then disobey command, though never so unjust as that was: and it's well known, I never was any where upon command, but I did something which was acceptable, if any thing was to be don: And, I presume, I may justly say, that I have gon a volunteer out of complisance to brave men, and love to my King's service, as often against the enemy, and succest as well as some of my adversaries can brag to have been, in all their time of

action in his Majesty's service. And I would wave all their injustice to me, if any of them, in their undertakings, can parallel what herein this manuscript I make to appear on one side of a leaf.

CHAPTER XIII.

An unhappy Accident.

And my paying of the party their bread-money, when it look'd insignificant whether I did it or not; and their often repeating it amongst themselves and the Irish, hath created a great kindnes for me amongst them all, and prov'd a happy fortun for those who perhaps little thinke on't now, and preserved other lives upon an occasion soon after; for when we return'd from Iper to our quarters, by Ghent, it happned that an Irish sarjeant, and three or four Irish souldiers with him, were coming by us, would have taken a hatchet from our lad, that was cleaving of wood upon the door-cill, who would not part with it, but flung it into the room amongst the souldiers; and they, who would as soon dye as part with that which kept them alive, went out and fought them, kill'd the sargeant, who fell not amongst them, but carried himself to a hedge hard

by, there dropt and dyed: And our souldiers knew not but that he was got away as well as the rest, till Collonel Leg came by, and saw him there dead; sent for me, told me, that "this unhappy thing must needs be don by some of your men;" and desir'd that his body might be carried into the house; and it being a market-day at Ghent, some of them might come drunk by, and see him kill'd, might insense others of them to do mischief; and with all desir'd, that no man touch his body, for, to his knowledge, there was a charge of gold about him: And, as soon as the corps was brought into the house, I told the souldiers that they presently baracado the doors, and make ready their armes, for I expected them to come for a revenge: and so there came some three hundred of them, about an hour or two in the night, run against the door, thought to surprise us, and so to take their revenge, but could not enter: Whereupon I call'd to them; when I call'd to them, I told them my name; told them that I came that evening off the guard from amongst them: and likewise told them, that Collonel Leg requir'd me to suffer non to go out of the house till an account be given who kill'd the sarjeant; and desir'd them to offer no violence, for to be sure they should have right don them the next day.

But, as good fortun would have it, the major part of those men went and came from Iper with us so lately, that made them presently to reflect upon what they knew I had don of right to my souldiers there and elsewhere, and did not attempt any further, but satisfied themselves and the rest of them with that I had told them: And some of them openly declar'd, that they would rather stand in my defence then offer the least prejudice wherein I was concern'd. And about 10 or 11 of the clock at night, came Major Farel, with a commanded party, by order of a councell of war, to demand right for what was don; but the circumstances between us tended not to much more then what was don the next day, for the business was examin'd, determin'd, and the men clear'd.

And it may easily be conceav'd, that some three hundred men would have been too hard upon a disput for nine or ten which were in an old countrey cotage, had it not been for their forberance, (and that was for my sake,) and, upon the least disgust, were resolv'd to take leave and be gon; then we could have no winter-quarters, and without it there had been no regiment.

CHAPTER XIV.

Further Sufferings at Nivelles.

When we were in quarters at Nivel, we were a tedious time without money, by the corruption of officers, who kept wholy to themselves the route-money due unto us from Doway to Antwerpt; sold the canteen of wine and beer; and likewise sold the bread-money: and when they had converted to their own use that little we had to keepe life and soul together, in consideration of it gave the souldiers passes to go up and down the countrey a-begging; and, to remove so great a scandal, seven or eight of us met one evening to advise upon't, and were resolv'd to prepare a petition how unhappy we were expos'd off so long a time, and to send it inclos'd in a letter to some honourable person at court that we could make our friend, to present it unto your Majesty. This being put upon me to do, the next morning, before I came abroad,

I had don the petition, (and more then was expected or mention'd ere night amongst us,) writt a letter to our Lieutenant-collonel, why we made an address to any other person then himself, to move your Majesty in our behalf; and another to my Lord Wentworth, who, above all others, I pitcht upon to make our friend, as my letter herein relats. When all was don and approv'd off, not only by those officers, but by Wise himself, yet he would not have them sent away, becaus (as he told us) the King's orders were on the way, coming to fetch us over for England: but it came not in two or three months after.

CHAPTER XV.

A Copy of the Letter I writt to my Lord Wentworth in behalf of the Regiment.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

WE hope there needs no appologie to this truth, that the very best newes we have heard from England since the King's most happy Restoration, (as to our concern,) is, that your Lordship commands his Majesty's Royal Regiment of Guards, for we are confident in your prudent care and justice don to us upon all occasions; and truly at this present, our condition highly implores the assistance of some noble friend; and we know not to whom so well to make our humble adress, to present and second this inclos'd unto his Majesty, then to your Honour, since report, and our hope, speak you our Collonel. My Lord, we are left scarce one part of foure whom at Dunkirk battell entirely devoted themselves to be sacrifis'd for our

King's sake, rather then deceave his repos'd confidence in the resolve of his too few (at that time) loyal subjects. But, having escapt the worst, beyond our hope, as to be prisoners, three parts of us perisht with a tedious imprisonment and want of bread, and the few remainder here languish as having no allowance to live. This our insubportable condition, the character of your Lordship's wonted noblenes to assist an honest caus that wanted a friend, and the intrest we are incourag'd to have in your Lordship, very much perswads us of your kindnes and condole. But if, through mistake, (as necessity occasions many,) we herein presume more then ought, we hope that necessity will plead an acceptable excuse to so noble a spirit.

CHAPTER XVI.

General Carasien's ill-behaviour at Namur.

When we remov'd our quarters from Neevell to Namures, General Carasien sent his orders before to the magistrats and burgers of the town, to let them know that the King of Brittaine's Regiment of Guards was coming to quarter there; and that they were to give them no other accommodation then vacant houses upon the ramport and court of guards; and were to expect their whole subsistance from their own King, being restored to three kingdoms. This was not according to our service to the King of Spaine, when Carasien quitt the field, and left us there, to deserve better from his master then himself did at that time: And, had it not been for one of his Royal Highnes the Duke of Yorke's gentlemen, Mr Dutell, a native thereabouts, that gave us

credit for bread, it had gon very severe with us, as having neither money, friends, or relations, to relieve us; but as Providence sent us this person, and not long after, came there a letter from my Lord Wentworth, out of London, to prop our hope, assuring us that he was our Collonel; and advis'd us, as he was sinsible of our condition, to write a petition unto your Majesty, with the officers' hands to it; then to send it inclos'd in a letter to him, and he would present and second it unto your Majesty. When this I had don, it was perus'd, approv'd, and subscrib'd accordingly. Whereupon I told them, "Gentlemen, I hope now you will thinke it expedient to write unto my Lord Wentworth."—"No," said Wise; "I will send the petition in a letter to Brussells, for Jack Gwilliams to send to Collonel Wheeler." I told them, that Collonel Wheeler was my great friend, and a person whom I much honour'd; but yet I could not justly put him in competition with my Lord Wentworth, who is our Collonel, whose kind and obliging letter was by us to be observ'd, rather as a command from him: Besides, he is a noble person, a Privy Councellor, and can speake with the King when the other cannot; and make our addreses more acceptable unto his Majesty. But, right or wrong,

Wise was resolv'd to send the petition, that it might come to Wheeler's hand. Whereupon I went away, and would not own to be one that should put so great an affront upon so honourable a person, and being my Collonel too: but I left the petition amongst them, to do what they pleas'd with it. This was ground enough for Wise to insense Wheeler, at what rate he pleas'd, against me; that Wheeler, and others amongst them, made me as odious to my Lord Wentworth, that he would not hear me speake for myself, nor no man else for me: But I may safely swear, he little thought then that my justifying of his Lordship's priority and honour, upon a debate amongst us, whether the petition, written by his own orders and direction, should be sent to him, or to his Lieutenant-collonel, was the occasion that provok'd him to so great an anger against me, and to suffer my ruine to insue upon't, after I had, with much ado, surviv'd so many hazards and sorrow in my King's service.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Author prevents a Mutiny at Nivelles.

When we were in quarters, in vacant houses, not farr from Neevel, some of my souldiers one morning came to me, grievously sharpe set, and in that hungry humour sadly complaines of the hard measure they had, as to be forst to beg, steale, or starve, which was not allways to be don, nor would they do it any longer; vowing, that it was for my sake they staid there so long languishing at that rate. I could not take any thing ill that eas'd them with talking, becaus, to be sure, whatsoever they beg'd, stoale, or made a shift for, I had my share of it, or I might have gon and do as they did, or not live; therefore I seem'd to comply with them, to gaine their patience but to the next day; and, in the mean time, I would fix upon something commendable for us all to do in so great an exigence; and so prevail'd with them. After we had

parted, I was in a heavy loss with myself what fallacy I should use next, having so often before deceav'd them with such fruitless stories: But when I had pitcht upon what I thought would best suit with the humor of brave fellowes, I put it in black and white what I would have them with me to resolve upon. The next day, I went to them, and told them, "Gentlemen, I am come to make good my promis unto you; but first, I must tell you, that whereas you talk'd yesterday of starving, I presume you will all allow that I know best what it is, since upon Amsterdam iron-bridge, after I had come from Montros his ingagement, I sunk down dead with meer hunger; and had it not been for the great charity of strangers that reviv'd me, I had gon (for ought I know,) the way of all flesh, insinsible of any further paine; and, besides, you all know very well, that not long since I was in quarters, with Collonel Careles, his lieutenant, and others, and truly we had no other choyce for our Christmas-day dinner, then a well-grown yong fat dog, as cleanly drest, and as finely roasted, as any man need put into his belly: And we had no need to complaine, since we had any thing to feed upon as was man's meat; nor need you want such novelty now; and then, if you do but looke well about ye

when you go abroad a preying, whilst there is a care taken for a better accommodation for us. In the mean time, let's all resolve, with a brave old saying, 'What can not be cur'd, must be endur'd;' for we come here to live and dye in the King's service without scrupling; but, like gentlemen and souldiers,

"We'l here in point of honour starve, and try
How long we'l pine with hunger ere we dye."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Colonel Wise's behaviour to the Author at Dunkirk.

When Dunkirk came to be your Majesty's town and garrison, the regiment of Guards came first to quarter there, and the officers but upon half-pay; yet, notwithstanding that, I propos'd amongst them, that it was proper some of us should go to waite upon the Governor, and desire that he would be pleas'd to appoint a perade-place for us, in case of an allarum, that we might draw up, stand to our armes, and be in a readines if any commands should come,—which they did not approve off: and when a strong allarum, at breake of day, with drums beating, clatring and jangling of bells, as if the enemy were at the town's end; then of a sudden I made myself ready, and repair'd aloan to the Governor, who I found aloan in his chamber, and desir'd to know of him if he had any commands for those few remainder of his

Majestie's regiment of Guards. He very kindly received me, and told me we should be very welcome, and be very glad of our company. Whereupon I made hast away, and sent my sarjeant to let Collonel Wise know what the Governor had told me, whilst I run up and down the quarters, to get the souldiers in as much readines as possible I could; and, for want of a perade-place, gave them orders to draw up against Wise his quarters, as he was eldest Captaine, and all our Field-officers absent, which the souldiers observ'd: And when I came there myself, sent several times to Wise to know what his orders would be; but he neither came nor sent, but let us go as we came at; which I was something concern'd, and spoake to Ensign Sackfield, and Ensign Stoner, my familiar associats, and told them, that they very well knew the souldiers of the garrison were some of them who kept to beat us out of our countrey; and ask'd of them, if they would take their fortun with me that day, and we would go volunteers to waite upon the Governor, that he and all of them should see that we were as forward as they, and to go as far as he pleas'd to lead us. They told me, "With all their harts." Then I went with them to the Governor, as he was marching at the head of fifteen hun

dred men, and told him they were officers of his Majesty's regiment of Guards, gentlemen, and brave fellowes; and that they and myself would own it an honour to take our pikes upon our shoulders, and waite upon him that day. He return'd as many grateful expressions unto us, as if it had been the highest obligation that ever was put upon him, and would not take us from our command.

PART FOURTH.

Of strange Preservations which were vouchsafed to the Author.

At the Devizes, as I sate upon a small seate of sodds, with my back to an empty canon-basket, which lay close to the works'-side, a sarjeant that stood by calls me up in all haste, to show me three of the enemy, (officer-like,) that came to discover our works. I had no sooner started up, but he clapt down in my place; nor was he no sooner sate, but a musket-ball struck through the basket into his head, and he dyed immediately.

Another.

At Farington garrison, as I was coming down staires, and stooping very low, to look upon an accident which happened to both my leggs, a canon-shot came through the house, and over my head, just that very moment I stoopt, and struck into the stayrs, between me [and] a gentleman that followed me; and though I sav'd my head by it, yet I had so sevear a blow upon my legg, by a stoan which came from the wall, that prov'd very ominus; for where I receav'd the blow, there my leg was thrice broak afterwards, and never set right. The first time it was broak, was the least of two mischiefs that attended me upon a loyal account, which I had rather speake then write, if requisit.

The Gratitude of the Author to Mr Speaker Lenthall.

THAT I have been courted by a seeming great enemy, in those days, (when my betters were sold a groat a-dozen,) to stay with him, upon the account of what service he would do unto your Majestie, if there should come a revolution amongst them, as they expected it; I was sick in my mind to know, whether or no I might confide in in him, but did not: Yet, for the exceeding obligation he put upon me for those few days I was at his house; and, as sometimes there are retallations of civilities from one enemy to another, so, after several years absence, and when your Majestie was at Oxford, the troope of Guards at Abingdon, and I there then upon my crutches, I could not rest satisfied untill I had writt a gratefull letter unto Mr Lentall, as an acknowledgement of those favours I receaved in the worst of times, for such men as I was. A copy of which letter I do here incert, as the nearest wittnes I have to affirm what I alleadge:

Sir,

You know it an old saying, and so often affirm'd, that "One mischief pursue th' other:" Nor have I, for these months that I broake my leg, mett with any thing so much to trouble me, as that I cannot come with the first to pay my respects, and kiss your hand, being so near the place where I receav'd my obligation, (or rather a blessing, in that age;) but I shall leave it unto these my worthy comrads, to make my appologie, as they know best; only thus much be pleas'd to take from me, that there is neither hedge nor ditch, between this and your faire mansion, but I could chearfully scale on my crutches to come and waite upon you, were it in the least requisit to express the devotion and honour I have for you. In the mean time, untill I receave your commands, or meet with any thing call'd your concern, wherein, if need, I may act a gratefull part, I will publish your merits where I have credit, and creat servants unto you, of such gentlemen and brave fellowes, whom never had the honour to know you, but from

An Account of one particular Action which I perform'd in every Countrey that I serv'd your Majesty.

ENGLAND.

To Farington garrison I came, a stranger amongst those eminent souldiers: Three hundred of them made a salley upon a siege of fifteen hundred men; fought them three hours and three quarters exactly, by Sir William Courtney's watch; beat them from their works and guards, to retreat into strong houses of the town: then we fetcht some of our artilery, forst them thence; and when they rally'd, routed them in the open field. For my service amongst them, the Governor was pleas'd to confer a company upon me, as a reward, and my encouragement.*

* Justice Rosewell, then my Lieutenant-Collonel, who preserved my life in prison, will affirm this.—*Original Note.*

SCOTLAND.

At Stranaver, in the Highlands of Scotland, when my Lord Rey sent to burn his house, lest the enemy that landed should posses it, being upon their march towards it, I urg'd to have nothing burnt; but, if his Lordship would hazard his party of fourscore men with me, I would meet that three hundred approaching enemy, and beat them; which I did so effectually, that this countrey was not at all reduced under the subjection of the usurped Commonwealth.*

* Your Majesty had a report of this at Collaine. Captain Gwilliams, late of the royal regiment of Guards, can attest this.—*Original Note.*

FLANDERS.

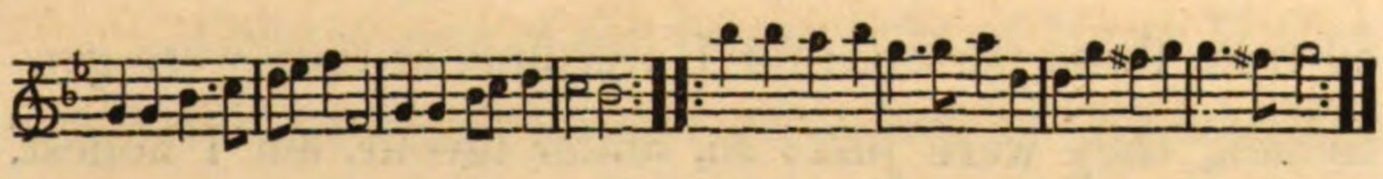
With three hundred foot I convoy'd a boat, with ammunition, from Ghent to Courtrey, notwithstanding that I was challeng'd at the river-side by a guard of the enemy, and the French campe within half a league; but with an advantage of the night, and my contrivance, I marcht with an appearance of several great bodys of men more then my number, ready to fight; that they at that instant would not engage, but brought their whole army a little to late to do it, that I arriv'd safe.

There are yet some souldiers surviving, in the Royal Regiment of Guards, can aver this.—*Original Note.*

CONCLUSION.

I COULD add very much to this small Manuscript, of what else has been my observation, besids my own undertakings and performances, if I thought requisit; but I will rather reduce the total of what more I have to say briefly thus: I never objected against any difficulties, whatsoever I should meet in going to any place or countrey to serve my Prince; but was allways one of the very first upon all engagements; and have been at as many fights, small and great partys, desperat salleys, and privat engagements, as any one man's time could permitt: nor can any just person say, to his knowledge, that ever he knew me to act any thing unworthy an honest man, a gentleman and a souldier. And I hope, that this real account of my fidelity and service, with the severity and

hard measure dealt me, (unknown before unto your Majesty,) will render me the more acceptable unto your Majesty's most gracious and wonted promis of reward; and as it may encourage others to profer their duty and service to their King equal, (or above their lives;) as, for example, those eighteen or twenty brave fellowes did, at Dunkirk battell, or as that small party from the Devizes have exprest it, when they courageously sung and fought till they routed Waller's rere-guard at Malbrough towns, and with a jovial old tune, which here brings up the rere.*



* See the Anecdote, at p. 65. The tune seems nearly the same (as already remarked,) with the old Scottish air "Up in the morning early."

The Author's Lineage and Pedigree.

LEST it may not be enough to have no more to say then to be a gentleman, as I am a Welshman, or by the commission I had; and, to answer those subtil and privat objections made against me upon that account, I do herein humbly produce my whole Coat of Armes, with my paternal line; and certainly, if there were any gentlemen of my forefathers, I have something in me descended from those persons; for I presume, as they were gentlemen, they were just; so, under favour, am I honest, which, with one tenet more, is the total of my religion too: And though I can in no way insinuat, to promot my endeavours, yet I can love, honour, and pay my obligation where it is due upon any account, as faithfully, and in as large a measure, as any man. Your Majesty was pleas'd to gratify me with no less a character, when the severe times of tryal displaid men by their actions what they were; my publick and privat enemys have declar'd it, and I waite for the good success of it, being it lyes in your Majesty's royal brest.

Description of the Coat of Arms.

BROCHVELL YSGHROG bore sables 3 naggs heads eras'd argent: He was King of Powys, and Earle of Chester.

The paternal Coat of Gwyn of Trelydan, is the Coat of Cadowgan ap Bleddin, Prince of Powys.

1. Or, a lyon rampant azure, armed and langued gules.
2. He beareth sables, a cheveran between 3 flowers de lizs argent; by the mariage of the daughter of Collwin, one of the fifteen tribs of North Walles.
3. Gules, a lyon rampant regardant or; by marriage with Athelyston Clodriedd, Earle of Hereford.
4. Three boares heads cooped sables, langued gules, tusked or; by marriage with Broughton of Vlbery.
5. Gules, a cnop of 3 adders; by the marriage with Ednowain ap Bradiven, Lord of Dolgolley, one of the fifteen tribes of North Walles.*

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* The Manuscript contains a Drawing of the Arms, properly blazoned; but the Author has described only five out of the six cantons therein charged. The copartment omitted is blazoned, "*Sable* three Falcons or Owls, (it cannot be distinguished which,) *argent*."

The Author's curious Pedigree.

JOHN GWYN is the second brother son of the House of Trelydan, in Montgomeryshire; he is the son of Robert, the son of Edward, the son of Howell, the son of Evan, the son of John, the son of Richard, the son of Johel, surnamed Gwyn, the son of Howell, the son of Adda, the son of Griffith, the son of Mredith, the son of Einion, the son of Cynvelyn, the son of Dolphin, the son of Rhiwallon, the son of Madoc, the son of Cadowgan, the son of Convyn, the son of Blythin, the son of Gwerystan.

Gwyristan, son to Gwaithvood the Great, married Nest, the daughter and heyr of Brochwell ap Athen Prince of Powys, and by her had issue, Convyn, who married Haer, daughter of Blaidd Rudd of Gest, who by her had issue, Blythin ap Convyn, Prince of Powys, and afterwards King of all Wales, and dyed in the fift year of William the Conqueror.

Cadowgan, Prince of Powys, married Gwenllian, daughter to Griffith ap Conan, Prince of North Walles, and had issue, Madoc.

Madoc married Jane, daughter to Cynfrig ap Rhiwallon of Trevor, and had issue, Rhiwallon.

Rhiwallon married Alice, daughter of Gwergenu ap Howell, ap Eva, Lord of Arwistlie, and had issue, Dolpin.

Dolpin married Alswn, daughter to Cadwallon ap Madoc of Cery, and had issue, Cynvelyn.

Cynvelyn married Julian, daughter to Sir Roger Mortimer, Earle of March, and had issue, Einion.

Einion married and had issue, Mredith.

Mredith married Sonet, daughter of Gronwey ap Einion, ap Seyssylt of Mathavern, and had issue, Griffith.

Griffith married Alice, daughter and heyr of Allo ap Rhiwallon of Trevenant, and had issue, Adda.

Adda married Effa, daughter and heyr of Meiric ap Aron, one of the Lords of Cery, and had issue, Howell.

Howell married Ann, daughter of Griffith Heirgoed, and had issue, Ithel.

Ithel, surname Gwyn, married Janet, daughter to David Say of Poole, Esquire, and had issue, John.

John Gwyn, Esquire, married Elizabeth, daughter of Evan Vaughan, and had issue, Evan.

Evan Vaughan, Esquire, married , the daughter and heyr of Maurice Vaughan ap Maurice, ap Madoc, ap Einion, and had issue, Howell.

Howell Gwyn, Esquire, married Lucie, daughter of John Winne of Garth, son of Reignald, eldest son and heyr of Sir Griffith Vaughan of Trelydan, Knight Banaret, and had issue, Edward.

Edward Gwyn, Esquire, barester-at-law in Grais-Inn, married Margret, daughter of Roger ap Cadwalader, ap Griffith, ap Merric, and had issue, Reignald and Robert.

Robert Gwyn, Gentleman, second son of the said Edward Gwyn, married Cathrine, the daughter of Oliver Price of Forden, Gentleman, and by her had issue, John Gwyn, formerly one of the Captaines in his Majestie's royal regiment of Guards.

Brochwell ap Athan, King of Powys, above-named, was the son of Athan, son of Congen, the son of Elissan, the son of Gweliawg, son of Beli, son of Mael Myngaw, son of Selyfsarph Cadau, son of Brochwell Ysgithrogg.

This Brochwell Ysgithrogg was King of all Powys, and had his pallace where the Coledge of St Chadds now standeth, in Sallop, then called Pengwern Powys: he was also Earle or Consul of Chester, and owner of all the countrey now called Cheshire. Floriat* Anno Doni. 600.

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* *Floruit*, we presume; but the Latin is worthy of the pedigree.

END OF MEMOIRS OF JOHN GWYN.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

EARL OF GLENCAIRN'S EXPEDITION,

AS GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES,

IN THE

HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND,

IN THE YEARS 1653 & 1654.

BY

A PERSON WHO WAS EYE AND EAR WITNESS TO EVERY

TRANSACTION.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

EARL OF GLENCAIRN'S EXPEDITION,

AS GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES,

IN THE

HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND,

IN THE YEARS 1653 & 1654.

His Lordship left his house of Finlayson in the beginning of the month of August, 1653, and went to Lochow, where several of the chiefs of the clans met him, viz. the Earl of Athole,* the Laird of Glengary,† Cameron of Lochiel, ordinarily called M'Iduig,‡ John Graham of

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* John, second Earl; and after the Restoration, created first Marquis of Athole.

† Æneas M'Donell of Glengary, a chief of great gallantry and influence, steadily attached to the Royal cause, and the soul, it would seem, of the Highland confederacy. After the Restoration, he was created a peer, by the title of Lord M'Donell and Aros.

‡ Mac Dhonuil Duibh, *i. e.* the son of Donald the Black; the patronymic title of the Chief of the Camerons.—He in question was the redoubted

Duchrie, Donald M'Grigor, tutor of M'Grigor, the Laird of Inuery, Robertson of Strowan, the Laird of M'Naughton, the Lord of Lorn, late Earl of Argyle,† and Colonel Blackadder of Tulliallan.

These gentlemen, after some days of consideration with his Lordship, promise to bring him out what forces they could with all expedition.

His Lordship, in the mean time, lay to and from the hills, not having with him but three servants, and the writer of this History, for the space of six weeks.

The first forces that joined him were forty footmen, brought by the Laird of Duchrie.‡ In two or three days after came the tutor of M'Grigor, with eighty foot.

Ewan Dhu, or Black Sir Ewen, of whom tradition has told so many wonders.—*See* PENNANT's *Travels.*

† The unfortunate son of an unfortunate father. The celebrated Marquis himself observed a temporizing policy during this mountain war; but this his eldest son had become apparently attached to Charles II. when he acted as captain of his guards. He treated the King, while in Scotland, with more respect than was shewn to him by others of the Presbyterian party; yet did not even then, nor during the course of the present insurrection, escape those suspicions to which he was made a victim after the Restoration.

‡ John Graham of Duchrie, a gallant soldier, and believed to be the author of the narrative.

With this force his Lordship went to the house of Deuchrie, where within a few days Lord Kenmure joined him with about forty horse from the west. Colonel Blackader came with about thirty horse, which he had got together in Fife. The Laird of M'Naughton came with twelve horse: There were between sixty and eighty of the Lowland men without horses, but well provided in arms, who were attending for command, under the conduct of Captain James Hamilton, brother to the Laird of Milnburn—they all were called to a nicname Cravats.*

Colonel Kydd, governor of Stirling, being informed that the King's forces were come so near him, marched with most part of his regiment of foot, and a troop of horse, to a place called Aberfoile, within three miles of Lord Glencairn. His Lordship having intelligence, did march with the small force he had to the pass of Aberfoile, and drew up his foot on both sides very advantageously; and the horse, which were commanded by Lord Kenmure, formed the wings. He gave orders for Captain Hamilton's Cravats, and Deuchrie's men, to receive the first

* Croats, as probably resembling those Austrian light-troops in their dexterity of depredation.

charge, which they did very gallantly; and at the very first made the enemy retire. The General perceiving this, commanded the Highland forces to pursue, as also Lord Kenmure's horse: On this, the enemy began to run in earnest;—they lost about sixty men on the spot, and, it was said, about eighty in the pursuit: No prisoners were taken on either side.*

His Lordship succeeding so well, received reinforcements daily. He then marched to Lochearn, and from that to Lochranoch, where, at the hall in the isle of the

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* The romantic pass of Aberfoil has been celebrated in the modern romance of Rob Roy.—It begins at the first opening of the lake, after leaving the little inn; and as the path runs betwixt the water and the mountain, it formed a pass, where, to use the language of Cromwell on a similar occasion, "one man might do more to hinder, than three to make way." The tradition of the spot preserves some particulars.—Grahame of Duchrie's Castle, situated about a mile to the eastward of the pass, was burnt by the English the morning before the action: but the gallant owner was al ready in arms with his followers. A spot, marked by a clump of trees, where a distinguished English officer fell by a shot from the opposite side of the river, is still called *Bad an Shassenich*, or the Saxon's Clump.—About the same time the English soldiers attempted to intercept the insurgents, by forcing their way through the Trosachs, a celebrated pass of Loch Kathrine. In this also they were unsuccessful: and it was then an English soldier was poniarded by Helen Stewart, in an attempt to land upon the little island in the lake,—an incident which the Author of the Lady of the Lake has taken the liberty to press into his service.—*See the Notes to the last Canto.*

loch, the chiefs of the clans met him. From thence he dispatched commissions to the Lowlands for men and horses, and for seizing all the arms they could find.

Several of the clans joined him: The Laird of Glengary brought 300 men; Cameron of Lochiel, 400; the tutor of M'Grigor, 200. Sir Arthur Forbes, and General Irvine, his Lieutenant-Colonel, with several officers, came with about eighty men on horseback; the Earl of Athole likewise brought 100 horse; and a regiment of brave foot, consisting of near 1200 men, commanded by Andrew Drummond, brother of Sir James Drummond of Mahany, his Lieutenant-Colonel.

These noble persons being ordered, gave commission to several of their friends to go to the Lowlands and levy what men they could. The army then marched down towards the Marquis of Huntly's bounds, where several gentlemen came in.

The Laird of Inuerey* had a rendezvous in Brae-Mar, for uplifting a regiment: General Morgan, who lay at Aberdeen, being informed of the day of their meeting, drew out of the several garrisons 2000 foot, and 1000

* Farquharson.

horse and dragoons, and marched with these against us, day and night: We not having intelligence, he fell in with our outer-guards, and pursued them so hotly, that our forces had much ado to draw up: And had it not been for John Graham of Deuchrie, who got a fall at the foot of the Glen, and, with forty of his men, gave the enemy a smart fire, some of our men being among them; by good fortune, he killed the officer who commanded this advanced party, who would have entered the glen before us; but the loss of this commander checked their career.

In the mean time, Lord Kenmure, who commanded the van, marched away with great haste to our relief.—The foot took the glen on both sides, which led us to the Laird of Grant's ground, called Abernethy-Wood. Morgan now having gotten up his foot, ordered them to march up the glen. Our Lord-General seeing him pursue so hotly, kept the rear with some gentlemen, and would not change his horse, though he was mounted on a nag not worth 100 merks Scots. Those who waited upon him were the Laird of M'Naughton, Sir Mungo Murray,* who

* He had been, according to Burnett, *Whipping-Boy* to King Charles, and enjoyed a considerable portion of Royal favour, which, according to the same authority, he turned to the purposes of court-intrigue.

killed one of the enemy's officers as they entered the pass, Nathaniel Gordon's* son, a brave gentleman, Major Ogilvie, Captain Octrie Campbell, Captain John Rutherford, who wants the leg, Colonel Blackader, the Laird of Glengary, Lord M'Donald, and a few other brave gentlemen I cannot name. The glen was so strait, that most only two could march a-breast, and in some parts but one. The enemy were so eager, that they fought on foot as often as on horseback. We had eight miles to travel through this glen, before we could reach the Laird of Grant's country; and the enemy did not give over the pursuit till night parted us.

Morgan lay in the glen all the night, and next day marched to Cromar, and from thence to Aberdeen.†

We lay in this country about five weeks, and also in Badenoch. Lord Kenmure was sent with 100 horse to Argyle, to bring up what forces Lord Lorn had raised; and he had got together 1000 foot, and fifty horse, who joined us at Badenoch. But Lorn being discontented

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* The gallant Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, executed along with Montrose.

† It appears from the Appendix, that the English claimed the victory.

in a fortnight's time marched away with his forces, on the 1st day of January, 1654.*

Our Lord General having intelligence of this in the night-time, sent the Laird of Glengary and Lochiel, with as many horse as could be got ready in time, to pursue him, and bring him back with his forces, or otherways to fight him. Lorn marched straight to the Castle of Ruthven of Badenoch, a house belonging to the Marquis of Huntly, wherein there was an English garrison. Glengary being eager in the pursuit, overtook him before he got within half a mile of the castle. Lord Lorn seeing this, slipt off with what horse he had, and left the foot at Glengary's mercy: He presently commanded a party of horse to follow Lorn, who could not overtake him, but brought back about twenty of his horsemen. Lord Lorn's foot being drawn up on a hill, did beat a parley, and offered to return to his Majesty's service under the General.

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* The cause of Lorn's immediate discontent seems to have been, that he desired to exercise the power of a feudal superior within the bounds of the Gordon family, over whose lands Argyle had acquired right during the predominance of Presbytery. Glencairn, on the other hand, denied that Lorn, in right of his father, had any interest in Huntly's bounds.

Glengary, not satisfied with this, was going immediately to fall upon them; for he had an old grudge against them since the great Montrose's war: But our Lord General then coming up, and hearing of what they had offered, ordered one to tell them, that he would not treat with them till they laid down their arms, which immediately they did.

The General, and several of the officers, then went to them, and they all declared they were willing to re-enter his Majesty's service, and would not again desert. On this the General caused both officers and soldiers of them to take an oath, which they did very freely: But, in less than a fortnight, not one of them were to be seen in our army. And we saw not Lord Lorn, nor any of his men, since that time.*

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* Burnet, in speaking of this insurrection, says of Lord Lorn, that the jealousy of the father caused the son to be suspected.—" The Earl of Glencairn had like to have spoiled all; for he took too much upon him,—and, upon some suspicion, ordered Lord Lorn to be clapt up, [a favourite expression of the good Bishop,] who had notice of it, and prevented it by an escape, otherwise they had fallen to cut one another's throats, instead of marching to the enemy."—*History of his own Times.* Folio. 1714. Vol. I. p. 58.

There was one Colonel Vogán,* who came from England to our army, with near 100 gentlemen, well armed and mounted. The Colonel himself unfortunately died of his wounds he received in a re-encounter with a troop of the Brazen-Wall regiment, as they called themselves. Notwithstanding of his wounds, he routed the troop, and killed the commanding-officer. It was said, that in all the wars none of this regiment were beat till now.† This brave gentleman's wounds were made whole; but, by some unknown occasion, they broke out again, which occasioned his death: His troop remained with our army till we were dispersed at Lochgary.

Our army, both horse and foot, being now considerable, by the great numbers of new levies that every day joined us, the General, with the rest of the officers, thought fit that we should march to the lowlands of Aberdeenshire: So we went to Balvonie, and from thence to a place

* The name of this gallant cavalier has been lately introduced in the popular novel of Waverley. He assembled his troop of cavaliers in London, and marched through England, though then entirely subjected by Cromwell, almost openly, yet with such judgment and celerity, that he avoided being intercepted.

† They are called in the Appendix the Brazen-Wall regiment.

called Whiteloomes, near which was a garrison of the enemy in the castle of Kildrummie, belonging to the Earl of Marr; Morgan not daring to face us, knowing our army to be stronger than his. After we had been here a fortnight, we marched for Murrayshire, where we lay a month;—our head-quarters was at Elgin.

The English had two garrisons in Murray; one at Burgie Castle, the other at Caddle: but, notwithstanding both these, we were not molested. We had very good quarters here, and made very merry; for we had wasted the Highlands by being so long there.

The Marquis, son to the great Montrose, joined the General at Elgin, with above twenty gentlemen. Lord Forrester likewise joined us, with some men, and one little Major Strachan.

The General having received intelligence from Lord Middleton* of his arrival in Sutherland, with several other

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* General, afterwards Lord, Middleton, a soldier of reputation, who had at first embraced the side of the Parliament, but afterwards that of Charles II. He was made prisoner at Worcester, and, escaping out of the Tower, fled abroad, and made a part of Charles's wandering court. He was sent from Holland, with such assistance as the King could procure of arms and money; and with commission to supersede Glencairn in the command of

officers, from his Majesty, viz. Major-General Monro, as his Lieutenant-General; Dalziell, as Major-General of horse and foot; Drummond, as Major-General of foot; Lord Napier, as Colonel of a regiment, &c.; he ordered his army immediately to march for Sutherland. Morgan having intelligence of this, marched on our rear, and, as we passed through Murray, had many small skirmishes with us, in which our noble General was always present, ordering fresh parties to relieve those that were engaged. In this manner we were employed for two days and nights.

We invested the house of Brodie of Lethem, who held it with a garrison of his own men for the English. The General sent an order to him to deliver up his house, for his Majesty's service, which he refusing to do, and on the

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his tumultuary and divided army. Immediately after the Restoration, Middleton was in high favour, and became the Royal Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. But his temper was too violent for this elevation: He conducted himself with imprudence and precipitation,—was undermined by Lauderdale,—and shared the disgrace of his patron Clarendon. He was sent, as an honourable banishment, to Tangier, in the capacity of governor, where breaking his rib by an accidental fall, the fragment of the bone is said to have injured the noble parts, and the wound proved mortal.

approach of our men, killing three or four of them from the windows, his Lordship was so incensed, that he ordered his soldiers to fill up the court and gate with several great stacks of corn: this he set fire to, in hopes that the smoke thereof, the wind blowing on the house, would stifle them so much that they would be obliged to surrender. But it took not that effect; they still held out against us, and we lost four or six men more ere we left it.

The General, on the morning that we marched, ordered all the Laird of Lethem's land and barn-yards to be burnt, which accordingly was done. This was the only skaith of that kind by him ordered during the whole time of his command.*

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* Brodie of Leatham was treated by Glencairn with the more severity, on account of his relationship to Alexander Brodie of Brodie—a zealous Covenanter, whose love of Presbytery did not, however, prevent him from taking on himself the office of a Judge during Cromwell's usurpation. The following extracts from Brodie's Diary, a very rare and singular tract, will serve to shew how much he was embarrassed by the arrival of Glencairn and his forces. It may be remarked, that the Laird of Brodie sometimes speaks in the first, but more frequently in the third person. Among other curious traits of enthusiasm evinced by a man who seems otherwise to have possessed a sound and intelligent understanding, it would seem that he more than expected an especial inspiration, like that vouchsafed to David, 1st Samuel, chap. 23. In

We next marched to a pass that lay eight miles above Inverness, where having arrived, we transported our whole army over Inverness water. We kept a strong guard, and

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truth, the Laird of Brodie, to use the phrase of the time, seems to have had *no freedom* to comply either with Glencairn or the English, and was hard bestad in the difficulty of preserving himself from both.

"*6th January.*—Hearing of the approach of Glencairn and his forces, his heart grew like a stone—stupid, and without any motion, or life of God. He was confused in his resolution—not knowing if it were safest and freest from temptations, to stay at home, or to withdraw to the south or north. Being plunged in this darkness, and not knowing what to follow, he desired to mourn and be cast down before the Lord, as a little child; and to hold up his will and mind unto him, to learn the present duty.

"Lord, stir up, and dispel the confusions and darkness on his mind, and make his path plain before him. Help him to exercise faith in thy name, for the present strait. Sanctify the word of thy providence to his soul this evening, (1 John, ii. 15, 16, 17,) that the love of the world may not secretly and insensibly sway his mind, and blind and mislead; but he may purely see thee, that art the light; for where the love of the world is, there is not the love of God. As David sayeth of Keilah, *Will they give him up or not?* So, Lord, he desires to enquire anent his stay here; or, shall he remove or not? Give forth and signify thy will; for he believes in thy name for this particular."

"This afternoon I received Glencairn's letter and the Quarter-master's. He was afraid, and trembled, and was cast down, and spread it before the Lord, and desired to be directed what answer he should give, and get what to write from the Lord. And again, on the 13th day, received another letter from him; to which he answered.

lay in great safety in this country, the English having no garrison to the north of us.

The General set out for Dornoch, to receive Lord Mid-

"Now, oh Lord, his chief and only suit at the beginning was, an honest, faithful heart in this business; and to be freed from all crooked, subtil, crafty, politick, and carnal ways and overtures, which corrupt reason might present and offer to him, for avoiding the fiery suffering trial; that he may be found clear in the Lord's sight, through Jesus Christ, albeit plundered or wasted. His heart smote him for walking doubly betwixt these men; that while he put . . . . . .

"Oh Lord, I sought thee ere this people came into the country; and my prayer to thee, and thy answer, seemed to be on the 5th of January, That he should labour to be innocent and free from sin, rather than to be safe; and that he might be kept in a plain, upright path; and be delivered from every wicked, politick, crafty, wise way, which might insnare my soul and grieve thy spirit. Now, this, this is his prayer again, and shall be to-morrow, being the 15th day of January, in a fast with these of the protestation, for light and direction to them for the furtherance of the gospel, and setting it up through the dark places of the land; for mercy to them that are under thy rod, such as thy servant Waristoun in particular."

"18*th January*.—I considered and observed the Lord's providence since their coming to this country. 1. The Lord raised the water, and hindred their coming on Leathin his bounds, which was their great design. 2. When I was half fainting, and enquiring at the Lord anent complying by giving money, the English, without any expectation, or the least motion or procurement from me, came to Darnaway; and even then, when I could not tell

dleton's commands, who was now Captain-General; and after some days spent with Middleton, ordered that there might be a general rendezvous of the whole army, that

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what to advise the poor tenants to do. 3. I observed the evil of my hastiness. 4. The Lord's redding these of Nairnshire out of perplexity. 5. In all this, that he has the Lord to thank, and to adore, and not men. This shall not serve to persuade him to joyn issue with the English; for the Lord doth secretly keep off and interdict my spirit from leaning to, or closing with them. But, oh Lord, here does my temptation ly. Oh thou that dost all things for me, guard my heart against this snare; for I believe in thy name for more light and more strength. The more thou appearest and givest, he will believe in thee the more, and expect more and more.

"19*th*,—This day Glencairn and his forces crossed Findhorn; and, as he observed the Lord's goodness and providence in putting that people back, without doing me extraordinary hurt, even when they determined it; so he adored the holy, wise providence of God, in permitting his brethren of Leathin to be engaged with them; and how does he mingle the comfort of his escape with that sad humbling accident. He desired to enquire to-morrow into, 1. The causes; 2. The occasions; 3. The fruit and use and ends of such a trial, and the Lord's purpose in it.

If there be meikle fead [hatred] from Highlanders, or wicked, godless men, we will take thy name for a sufficient stay and refuge against all that trial. If thou be on their side, who can be against them? Let them [be] friendless, and have all men against them, so thou be for them. Thou art more than a hundred thousand clans, or great men or enemies; and we will make this covenant with thee,—If thou wilt be our God, we shall be thy people; and we shall [not] give thy praise and our trust to any other.

he might examine how the men were armed and mounted, and know with certainty what he had to depend upon. They were mustered accordingly about the middle

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"*20th.*—Glencairn burnt the corns and houses of Leathin. Oh Lord, sanctify and help us to understand, and be humbled under this hand of thine. Upon the news, I said to Leathin, having risen from prayer, 'My heart is calm, and I do rejoice in God, and bless his name.' Albeit, there may be in us matter of humiliation for meikle guilt; yet his rod seems not to be pure wrath, but mercy in it."

"*22d.*—I observed the ignorant, hasty, wrong-applying, and construing his providences of the 18th January, in thinking that the danger was past, and see their not attaining their end at first. The stop which they met with by the water of Findhorn is now repaid; so may also his conclusions anent himself.

"*24th.*—With reading Tit. iii. 1, 2. *Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers—to obey magistrates, &c. Shewing all meekness to all men.* He was smitten with this word, and casten down under the defacing of that ordinance, and prayed for the restitution of it to its proper reverence and authority and vigour. This word swayed him much to the Scots power in arms, being in a great averseness from the usurpation, confusion, and unlawful power and constitution of the English. Oh Lord, the very inclination of his heart afflicts and humbles him. Albeit, seeing confusion, and the necessity of a settled government, and the bad consequences that have ensued the defect thereof; yet mourning under the corrupt depraved estate of the land, and the woful consequences of the setting up such rulers as were [not] native to us.

of March, and their number consisted of 3500 foot, and 1500 horse; 300 of which were not well mounted nor armed.

There was a small English pink cast away in a storm on the coast of Sutherland, loaden with between thirty or forty tons of French wine, which was distributed

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"This day I went to Leathin, and determined to give a stack of oats and straw to his poor people, because of his freedom and their safety; both in duty of love and obedience, and in sign of thankfulness; for his safety was from thee. Oh Lord, humble and teach—humble and teach, and lead him in a straight, even path, for thy name's sake."

"His own reason resolved him, that if he could get a pass and a safeguard to his family from Glencairn, that he should remove. Oh Lord, he spreads this counsel before thee. The day has been in other cases; nay, and few days hence, that he would have scorned at this overture."

"See the *Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, Esq., who was one of the Senators of the College of Justice in* 1650 *and* 1658, *(an office he accepted, the last time, after much resistance and reluctance;) and a gentleman of shining piety. Containing his devout exercises in reference to the state of his own soul, of his family, and the Church of God; his conferences with Messieurs Leighton, Blair, Durham, Rutherfoord, Douglas, Hutchison, Lord Waristoun, Sir John Chiesly, &c. concerning the differences between the Protesters and Resolutioners, &c.; his pious care in the management of his family—in educating the youth about him—and engaging himself with his friends and neighbours to stedfastness in the ways of God; with several remarkable occurrences in those times, and serious reflections upon them. Taken from his own manuscript.—Edinburgh, printed by T. Lumsden and J. Robertson; and sold by the booksellers in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen,* 1740."

among the officers of the army, and a ton thereof ordered for Lord Glencairn.

The army being drawn out in order, Lord Glencairn went through every regiment of horse and foot, and informed them all that he had now no longer any other command than as a private Colonel; and that he hoped they should be very happy in having so brave a nobleman for their commander as Lord Middleton: and so many, both of officers and soldiers, could not refrain from tears, protesting that they could have wished to have spent their lives and all under his command.

After this, the General Middleton did entertain them all in his quarters. Then Lord Glencairn invited him, and his General-Officers and Colonels, to dine with him at Kettle, a house four miles south of Dornoch, the headquarters. His Lordship gave them as good cheer as the country could afford, and made them all very hearty.—After dinner, he called for a glass of wine, and expressed himself to this purpose to the General: "You see, my Lord, what a gallant army I, and these noble gentlemen with me, have raised out of nothing. They have hazarded lives and fortunes to serve his Majesty. Your Excellency ought therefore to give them all the encourage-

ment you can." Immediately Sir George Monro* started from his seat, and interrupting Lord Glencairn, said, "By God, the men you speak of are no other than a pack of thieves and robbers.—In a short time I will shew you other sort of men." Glengary started up, thinking himself most concerned; but Lord Glencairn stopt him, and said, "Forbear, Glengary, 'tis I that am levelled at:" and directing himself to Monro, told him he was a base liar; for they were neither thieves nor rogues; but much better than he could raise. General Middleton commanded them both to keep the peace; and addressing them, said, "My Lord, and you, Sir George, this is not the way to do the King service, to fall out among yourselves: Therefore, I will have you both to be friends:" and calling for wine, said, "My Lord Glencairn, I think you did the greatest wrong in calling Sir George a liar,—you shall drink to him, and he shall pledge you;" which the noble and good Lord did without any hesitation. Sir George, after his old haughty humour, muttered some words, which were not heard, and neither pledged him nor

* See some disadvantageous mention of this gentleman in Gwyn's Memoirs, and a note upon the passage, p. 103.

drank to him. The General then ordered his company to horse. Lord Glencairn would have conveyed him to the head-quarters, but his Excellency would not allow him to go farther than a mile. So he returned to his quarters with Colonel Blackader and John Graham of Deuchrie. He became exceeding merry on his returning home, and caused the Laird's daughter to play on the virginals, and all the servants to dance. Just as he was going to supper, Alexander Monro, brother to Sir George, called at the gate, when his Lordship commanded immediately to let him in, and saluted him at the hall-door as being very welcome, and made him sup with him, placing him at the head of the table, next the Laird's daughter. The whole company were very merry. Immediately after supper, he told Monro that he would give him a spring if he would dance; which accordingly he did—the Laird's daughter playing. While the rest were dancing, his Lordship stept aside to the window, and Monro followed. They did not speak a dozen of words together. My Lord called for a glass of wine, and drank to him; said he feared he would be too late to go to the head-quarters. As soon as he was gone, he called for candles and went to bed. Blackader and Deuchrie lay in the same room with his

Lordship. As soon as he went to his room, the whole family went to bed. None was privy to my Lord's design but John White, his Lordship's trumpeter and his valet. It was agreed, that as the nights were short, my Lord should meet Monro half way between Dornock and his quarters, by gray day-light; so that my Lord got not two hour's rest; and though the two foresaid gentlemen lay in the room with him, he went out to the field and returned without their knowledge. None went with him but his trumpeter; and Monro came with none but his brother the Lieutenant-Colonel. They were both well mounted on horseback; each of them were to have one pistol; after discharging of which, they were to fight with broad-swords. The pistols were fired without doing hurt. They then engaged with their swords; and after a few passes, my Lord had the good fortune to give Sir George a sore stroke on his bridle-hand; whereupon Sir George cried out that he was not able to command his horse; "and I hope," says he, "you will fight me on foot."—"Ye carle," says my Lord, "I will let you know that I am a match for you either on foot or on horseback." Whereupon they both alighted; and at the first bout, my Lord gave him a sore stroke on the brow, about an

inch above his eyes, which bled so much that he could not see. His Lordship was going to thrust him through the body; but John White, his man, pusht up his sword, and said, "You have eneugh of him, my Lord." His Lordship, in a passion, gave John a stroke over the shoulders, and then took his horse and came to his quarters. Monro and his brother went to the head-quarters, but with much ado, for the blooding at head and hand.

The General being informed of this affair, instantly sent Captain Ochtrie Campbell to secure Lord Glencairn in his quarters, which was done before six in the morning. The manner of securing him was by taking his sword, and commanding him to be arrested in his chamber, and taking his parole not to disobey the General's order. This happened on Sunday morning.

There fell out an accident the week ensuing, which made the breach wider betwixt Lord Glencairn and Monro. Captain Livingston, who came with Monro, and a gentleman called James Lindsay, who came with Lord Napier, had some hot words; Livingston alledging Monro was in the right, and Lindsay the contrary. They went out early in the morning to the Links of Dornoch, and fought. Lindsay thrust Livingston through the heart,

who died on the spot. Lindsay was unfortunately taken; and the Lord Glencairn and many of his officers dealt with him. He immediately called a Council of War, by whom he was sentenced to be shot at the Cross of Dornoch, betwixt that and four in the afternoon; which was accordingly done. He begged the favour of chusing the men that would shoot him.

My Lord was greatly troubled for this gentleman's death; and allowed nothing to be wanting to bury him handsomely. Sir George carried so high, that no reconcilement was to be had betwixt my Lord and him. So his Lordship, on that day fortnight after the duel was fought, which was on Sunday, set out for the south. He took no more but his own troop with him, and some gentlemen volunteers that were waiting for command;—in all, about 100 horse. We marched straight to the Laird of Essen's bounds. The General having notice of his Lordship's departure, sent a strong party to bring him back, otherway to fight him. His Lordship having arrived in safety at the Laird of Essens,* he offered his services to secure the

* MacLeod of Assint, by whom Montrose was betrayed. He was tried for the crime after the Restoration, but escaped, as Burnet alleges, by assuming a high spirit of vice and intemperance, and giving large entertain-

passes, so that the whole army, though they were pursuing, should not be able to come near him that night. My Lord was obliged to accept of this favour, though this gentleman was said to be the person who betrayed the great Montrose; yet others affirm it was his father-in-law, he being very young at that time.

Next day his Lordship marched for Kintail, belonging to Lord Seaforth. He was kindly received by the gentlemen there; and stayed some days to refresh his men and horses. From that he marched to Lochbrune, and from thence to Lochaber; next to Rannoch; then to Killinn at the head of Lochtay, where he rested for eight days, till Sir George Maxwell, his own Lieutenant-Colonel, had brought him about an hundred horse.

The Earl of Selkirk here joined him with 60 horse; and Lord Forrester, with one little Major Strachan, and one who went under the name of Captain Gordon, came up to him with 80 horse. This Gordon was an Englishman; his real name was Portugus; he was hanged at the Cross

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ments even while in prison, which suited the extravagance of the times, and made him so many friends as to screen him from the punishment, which he had so richly deserved. Perhaps this service to Glencairn might also afford Assint some means of defence.

of Edinburgh, after our capitulation, for deserting with several troopers from them. Several of our captains, with their men, joined his Lordship; but he thought fit to send them back to the General, that the King's service might not suffer when occasion did offer; and they went accordingly and joined the army. My Lord contracted a violent flux, so that all of us thought he would have died; yet he continued to travell by small journies, having none with him but his own servants, and some gentlemen that had commissions. He came at last to Leven, belonging to the Laird of Luss, and quartered at his house called Rosedoe. He was still careful in levying men in the Lowlands; and, within a month, got 200 horse.

We left General Middleton the latter end of April in Sutherland, and then marched to Caithness, where he expected to have got reinforcements from Lords Seaforth and Rae, and some others that Monro assured him of, but was disappointed of them all. From this he marched south. Monk had now gotten command of the army in Scotland, and had a considerable force. He ordered Morgan to draw out what forces could be spared from garrisons, which he joined to his own army at Aberdeen. He gave part of his army to Morgan; and they both set

out on different roads, but within a day's march of each other, for the Highlands, in search of Middleton.

The King's army marched to Lochgarie; near which there was a small town, where they were to encamp all night. But Morgan, who intended to rest at the same place, had gained it before Middleton; and having no intelligence of each other, the King's vanguard and Morgan's outer-guard immediately engaged. There was no ground for drawing up; for on one hand the Loch hemmed them in, and on the other the ground was all morass, so that no horse could ride it; and the way by the Loch-side was so narrow, that two or three only could ride a-breast. Middleton finding this, ordered his rear to face about, so that our van became our rear; and these English gentlemen in our army being then in the rear, did behave most gallantly. Morgan pursued very close; at last he made himself master of the General's sumptuary, where was his commission and all his other papers. He presst so hard, that the King's army ran as fast as they could, and in great confusion. There was no great slaughter, as night came on soon after they were engaged. Every man shifted for himself, and went where he best liked. A few went with the General; but where they went

I can give no account. He appeared no more in arms after this; but went over to his master in Flanders. Many of Lord Glencairn's men that were at this engagement offered their services to him at Rosedoe; but he told them that the King's interest in Scotland was broken by the shameful flight at Lochgarie; and that as he was so much indisposed, he intended to capitulate for himself, and those that were with him, and if they pleased they might be included; so he desired them to consider of it till next day, and then inform him of their resolution, that he might know how many to capitulate for. The officers next day waited on him to inform him, that as they had taken arms under his command to serve the King; and as he thought at present they could be of no service to his Majesty, they were willing to be included in the capitulation with him.

My Lord sent immediately Commissioners to Monk, who lay at Dalkeith; and it was a full month before the business was closed. The treaty was once broken off; on which my Lord, hearing there was a party of horse and dragoons quartered in Dunbarton, resolved to beat them up. We had an outer-guard at a foord all the time we lay here. It was passable no nearer than within

four miles of the town of Dunbarton. His Lordship ordered 200 of the best horse he had to pass the ford, under the command of Sir George Maxwell of Newark, his Lieutenant-Colonel; and as soon as they crossed the river, to ride at hard gallop till they reached the town. This was done near one o'clock, when they were judged to be at dinner. Accordingly, all this was done. Those of the enemy that could escape by flight, got to the Castle; about 30 of them were killed in the town, and 20 made prisoners.

All the horses belonging to this party were taken, and 200 loads of corn, which we carried off with us. When this defeat was reported to General Monk, he immediately brought on the capitulation, and condescended to much better terms then than formerly.

The conditions were, that all the officers and soldiers should be secure in their lives and fortunes, and should have passes to carry them to their respective homes; they behaving themselves peaceably in their journeys. The officers were allowed their horses and arms, and to wear their swords always. The soldiers were allowed to keep their horses, but were to deliver up their arms, and to receive the full value for the same, which was to be fixed

by two men chosen by my Lord, and the other two by Monk. All these conditions were punctually performed at Dunbarton; and there two long tables set up upon the green below the Castle, where the passes were delivered, and the money for the arms of the soldiers.

This was done on the fourth day of September, 1654; and my Lord Glencairn went that night to his own house of Finlayson.

END OF GLENCAIRN'S EXPEDITION.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PUBLIC JOURNALS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE PRECEDING MEMOIRS,

AND OF

THE STATE OF SCOTLAND IN GENERAL,

DURING THE YEARS 1652-3-4.

VERSES ON GLENCAIRN'S INSURRECTION.

The following encounter of wit, which occurs in an old manuscript, and seems to have been extracted from a Journal of the period, may be taken as a motto for the following Appendix, as it serves to shew the parties, like Corporal Nym, tried the question with the humours both of wit and steel. However superior with the sword, the Republicans make a bad hand of the poetry.

The 19th of Aprill, 1653.

I have received this day the Highlander's Diurnall, which I leave to better judgments than mine own to interprett the same.

Te coven welt tat gramagh * teng,
Gar brak hems word, gar de hems keng;
Gar pay hems sesse, or tak hems clase,
Vel no de cat del comer de leers;
Vel bid a file amang de crowes,
Vel seer to swad and wishe te bowes,
And fen her nen sel se te re,
Te del may car fu gromaghe.*

Interpreted by me, J. Emerson.

The commonwealth, that filthy † thing,
Makes break his word, makes die his king;
Makes pay his cess, or take his clothes,
Wee'le not do that, deel take the liers.
We'l bide a while among the crowes,
We'l scour the sword, and bend our bowes,
And when our own selfes see the king,
The deel may care for the filthy thing.

Answered by me extempore, as recd, J. E.

You brutish Highlanders, what is the thing,
That ye soe much desire to have a king?
Your sesse is little, and your clothes are bad,
Surely I think the devill hath made you mad.
You say you'll stay amongst your rocks and hills,
But for your gutts wee have prepared pills,
To send you loving subjects with your kinge
To Tophet, where your names shall highly ringe.
Now see your pseudo priests have taught you well
The nearest way to the abyse of hell;
And truly I commend their serpent's witt,
Because for heaven they thought you were not fitt;
Now see your doom, you idle, drunken sotts,
And tak't as truth, you are the worst of Scotts.

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* I have not disturbed the spelling of the manuscript, though, being taken down by an Englishman, who did not understand the broken dialect of the Highlanders, it is nearly unintelligible. The proper orthography may have been as follows:—

The commonwealth, that gramaugh thing,
Gar break hems word, gar die hems king;
Gar pay hems cess or take hems [gear,]
We'll no do that, deil speed ta lear.
We'll bide a while amang ta crows,
We'll scour ta sword and bend ta bows,
And when her nain sell sees ta re,
Ta deil may care for Cromaghie.

In the last line a pun seems intended between the name of Cromwel and the Gaelic gramagh, which signifies ugly.

† Grim, or ugly.

EXTRACTS

FROM

MERCURIUS POLITICUS.

No. 117.

From Leith, August 21, (1652.)

Here is very little newes at present. What we have from the Northern Highlands is this: That Captain Powell, (of General Monke's late regiment,) Governor of the Bray of Marre and Ruthven Castles, lately going with a partie and provisions from Ruthven to Marre, a broken partie of Loughaberans, or other Highlanders, way-laid him; but receiving notice his partie were too considerable, they drew off undiscovered, and continued thereabout, untill twelve of that party returning back to Ruthven to their garrison, these broken fellowes had designed to ensnare them in a narrow passe which they were to goe in. But such was the resolution of the troopers, that they cut their way through them, and recovered safe away. Another party came down and stole some cattell between the Bray of Marre and our Campe, (which was the 15th instant, at Mirlock, twelve miles from Dunkell,) the country not having time to acquaint Colonel Morgan with it, fell resolutely on them, killed divers of them, and took their chiefs prisoners, whom they conveyed to Captain Powell at the Bray of Marre; and thence they were sent by a guard

to Dun-ottyr Castle. We have heard nothing from the Major-General since he went from Aire to Argile and Cantire. This day the Commissioners from the several counties made their election of twenty-one men ; viz. fourteen persons to represent the shires, and seven persons for all the burroughs, who are to make their repaire to the Parliament of England, or such places in England as the Parliament shall appoint, upon the first day of October next.

From Ayre, August 19, (1652.)

The Major-Generall is now about Innerara or Cantire, viewing the severall garrisons there. Colonel Alured hath sent from his regiment 135 men to three garrisons ; viz. Braddock in Arran, Loughhead and Tarbat in Cantire ; eight month's provision is laid in for them. The Major-Generall was minded to come this way at his return. Our fortification here goes on fast, after we get the foundation laid. We are very much troubled with water, and have no earth but a shattering sand, that as we may dig in one place, another falls upon us ; but we hope, before the winter come upon us, to get all or most part of the foundation laid. When it is finished, it will be a place of great strength as will be in England or Scotland. The fresh water will be seven or eight feet deepe about two parts of it, and the sea and the river about the other two parts.

From Edenburgh, August 21, (1652.)

The deputies of the shires and boroughs have made their election of their deputies who are to goe to London, or where the Parliament shall appoint. Their names follow. For the shires—Judge Lockhart, the Laird of Orbostone, Judge Swinton, James Lord Carnegy, the Laird of Gartland, Gibson Lord Durie, the Laird of Heire, the Laird of Riccartoune, the Laird of Rentoune, Stewart Lord Lintoune, the Laird of Glenfaug, the Laird of Garroth, the Laird of Faunichie, and the Laird of St Lennoards. For the boroughs —John Joussie, Sir Alexander Wedderburne, John Milne, George Cullen, Andrew Glen, James Snord, Daniel Wallace.

From Innerara, in the Western Highlands, August 18, (1652.)

I cannot present you with any thing of worth or weight from the Western Highlands, where is little notable but what is also notorious and abominable. Here are store of garisons; viz. high and inacessible rocks and mountains, not to be stormed or taken by battery; the inhabitants are savage, cruell, covetous, and treacherous; the men are proud of their trouses, belted plades and bonnets, as a Spaniard is of his high-crowned hat, long cloak, and rapier; indeed they differ in their pace, for this tells his steps in the pace of a grand paw, whilst than runs like a roe, over hill and dale, till time stops him. Their women are pure Indian complexions, unparalleled for deformity; their habitations are like so many inaccessible charnel houses, for nasty noysomness. We have garrisoned four of Argile's Castles; viz. Lough Killarran, Tarbott, Dunstaffage, and Dunottyr. Wee are now at Innerara, his Stample-dale, or Imperiall Palace—a place of some receipt, but of small strength. His Lordship speaks us fair, and we hope to gain his and his people's subscription to the engagement, guilke [quhilke] they seem willing to doe with qualifications; however, he hath given it under his hand, that he will very shortly, in person, present himself to the Parliament's dispose.

MERCURIUS POLITICUS.

No. 118.

From Thursday, September 2, *to Thursday, September* 9, (1652.)
From Dalkeith, August 31.

Major-General Dean is now withdrawn with his forces out of the Highlands, and come to this place, having left them in as good a condition as could be expected, from a people of such a temper, in so short a time. Some of

them have given us a taste of their treacherous disposition, by surprising two of our garrisons in Cantire, called Turbott and Lough-head; and as our men were marching off out of the country, they all rose as one man in those parts, and took up their station at a narrow place which our men were to pass through, as if they meant to intercept them; which ours having intelligence of, resolved, notwithstanding, to march on and make their way. But, contrary to expectation, the Highlanders let them pass quietly, pretending that they had heard we were carrying away the Marquis of Argyle prisoner, whom our officers have left at his house.

This carriage of theirs, as also their surprisall of our garrisons, is totally disclaimed by Argile himself, who hath given it under his hand, that he agrees to the making of Scotland a commonwealth with England, professing that he will be true and faithfull to it, as established without a King, or House of Lords; and that he will neither directly nor indirectly act any thing contrary thereto. Upon these terms, hee is left at home with assurance to enjoy his freedom and estate in his own country.

No. 120.

From aboard the Marygold, in the Road of Ayre, September 11, (1652.)

All the news here is of the late perfidious dealing of the Highlanders, which, though you might have heard of in generall terms, yet the particulars are thus: When our men did put them in minde of their obedience to the commonwealth of England, and bade them take heed what they did, for that the Marquis of Argile was engaged for their good behaviour; they returned answer, that they were upon their own accompt, and that Argile had nothing to do with them; but beleeve it he that list. They told also, that they had men of their own upon our men's horses, which they took, and had sent the men prisoners to the mountains; for our men that kept the garison at Langhead were dragoons, who held it out two dayes, not having all their men within to make defence. For these Highlanders managed their designe with much treachery. They enticed our souldiers out to drink, unknown to their

captaines, and by that means got many of them out of both garisons; and the dragoons were looking to the horses in the fields were also surprised, but so secretly, that the garisons knew not of it. Only at night they missed some of their men; and next morning, they seeing the Highlanders to and again, sent out two files of men, to see if the houses and rocks were clear; which two files were every man killed but two, by a party in the Lord of Dunstafnage his house, his son being chief in the action; they killed three men more also after quarter; by which behaviour you may guess the temper of this brutall generation.

No. 121.

September 30, (1652.)*

Mynheer Von Hemsteede is still the but of bad tongues, and among other things for buying stoln goods; so they call your late King's moveables, as pictures, books, beds, tapistry, &c., *quis tulerit Gracchos?* Who can with patience hear capers and sherks accuse others of theevery; nay, a state, which in a course of justice makes a re-entry upon that which is their own, when abused and embazled by their tenant-at-will, and by their steward, who, when unfaithful, ought to give up his trust, and give an account of his stewardship. The said Heer Paauw, when he was last in England, is said to have bought the Emperor Charles his picture on horseback, a piece drawn by one Michael Angelo, a limner, which piece the Duke of Buckingham lays claim to, saying, his father lent it to the king. Is not this an embleme of the world's folly, admiring shadows and scuffling for pictures?

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* This extract has no relation to the proper subject, but is inserted for the benefit of those connoisseurs who may be desirous of knowing in what estimation the art of painting was held by the English republicans.

No. 127.

From Edinburgh, November 2, (1652.)

It is now given out that Argile hath finally closed with the English, and made an agreement concerning the Highlanders. The particulars are not well known, but they affirm he hath gotten good conditions for himself, and all his own lands freed from publick burthens. He hath also sold some cannon to the Commonwealth, for which he is to get good payment.

There was a man condemned for a witch, a very simple fellow, but he was reprieved. It is very observable in him, that upon a commission from the Judges in June last, and afterwards before the Judges, he confessed himself to have had familiar converse with the devil,—That he gave him a piece of silver, which was put into a crevice of his neighbor's hous who had crosst him, and thereupon all his cattle and horses died; and (after a year's languishment) the woman herself. He said also that he renounced his name, for which the devil gave him a new one, which is Alexander, or Sandy. That he sometimes lay with the devil in the likenes of a woman, with many other stories of that nature; and yet most of them that have conversed with him say they cannot believe him to be a witch. Before the judges at his triall, he denied all that he had confessed before, and said he was in a dream. Yet the very day that he should have been executed, he was not at all afraid, but seemed indifferent whether to live or die.

The trueth is, he lived in so poor a condition, and was (through his simplicity) so unable to get a livelyhood, that he confessed, or rather said any thing that was put into his head by some that accused him, upon the confession of some who have died witches. By this you may guess upon what grounds many hundreds have heretofore been burnt in this country for witches.*

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* The Sectaries, however wedded to their own enthusiastic dreams, were free from the infatuated belief in witchcraft, which characterized the Presbyterians both in Scotland and

No. 136.

From Leith, December 21, 1652.

The English Judges at Edinburgh sat every afternoon on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday last, upon criminal causes, where these three persons following were found guilty and condemned, viz. William Tenant, to be hanged first on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, till he be dead; and after that to be hung in an iron chain between Edinburgh and Leith; he was guilty of many murders and roberys: having confessed that he had murdered forty before; and, but that what is proved now against him is sufficient, it could be proved against him that he hath murdered sixteen at two several times. He was very desirous to undergoe any punishment, that his life might be spared; but being told by the Judges, he had noe pity for the English when they begged for life, noe pity should be shewn unto him.

James Ker, a minister's son, who formerly went by the name of Harrison, then Clendoning, an old moss-trooper, nothing of murder proved against him, heretofore being in custody for robbing a soldier, broke prison and had now like to escape justice, being accused for stealing a horse by cutting his hair and smearing his face; but one present having jealousie of him, and the marshall being asked whether they knew him or not, he was discovered and condemned to be hanged. The Judge-Advocate intends to desire his reprieve, to make use of him against Richardson, he having formerly been of his party.

England. During the brief domination of Presbytery in the latter country, a great many unhappy victims were executed, under the directions and upon the evidence of a pretended witch-finder, called Hopkins, mentioned in Hudibras. The infatuation continued in Scotland to a much later period; the last witch being executed in Sutherland in the beginning of the last century.

Some soldiers of Captain Waddall's (troope quartering at Houston, a gentleman's house near Peasly,) found therein behind the hangings sixty fixed muskets, with bandeliers answerable, the boxes all filled with powder, and a great box of new cast bullets; which being discovered to Major Richardson of Collonell Overton's regiment quartering at Peasly, and some rumor of armes being hid in the churches, did so far instruct them, as that they called the magistrates and ministers of the town togeather, and strictly inquired whether they knew of any armes hid or noe; which they denying, they sent to search the church, and finding a part of the wall new made up again, put them to it, whether that there were any thing hid there; but they persisting in denying, the soldiers broke it down, and there found these parcels of arms as follows:—viz. 155 muskets, 63 pikes, 120 collers of bandeliers, 313 swords, and bundles of matches, and a quantity of powder.

No. 140.

From Leith, February 5, (1653.)

Glengary is still busie (though to small purpose) in the Highlands. The heads of the clans did not appear, as he expected; but they are to have another meeting ere long, at Loghaber.

The Oliver frigat, a private man-of-war of 18 guns, is gon out this week, and more are equipping out for that service, to snap some petty freebooter upon that coast.

No. 148.

From Edinburgh, August 20, (1653.)

Upon Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, the 12th, 13th, and 14th instants, the Highlanders lay on a wood about three miles from Ruthven Castle, a ga-

rison of ours the nearest to those mountains. We expected they would advance farther, for they gave out great words to that purpose; but on Sunday night a brother of the Lord Ogilby's came to them, and made a relation of the conflict at sea, how that the Dutch were routed and run home. This so surprised them, that immediately after they dispersed themselves, some going one way, and some another.

Lord Lorn, the Marquis of Argile's son, with Mac Lane and their men, returned homeward over the hills. Glencarne and Glengary went with theirs up the water of Spey, towards the Brays of Loghaber, (their usual place of refuge,) much troubled that their designes are thus blasted in the bud. Our Commander-in-chief will now, (I suppose,) suspend his march into those parts; however, he may probably, ere long, give an alarm with some of his forces.

No. 167.

From Edinburgh, August, (1653.)

We have now certain intelligence, that on the 27th of July Charles Stuart's standard was set up at Killing.* On that day, 40 horsemen, well mounted, with swords and pistols, went by the house of Donne (six miles from Sterling) towards the Highlands. And on the 28th, Sir Mungo Murray went thither in the night; and Kenmore, with 100 horsemen, crossed the water of Clyd, and went by Dundreth towards Killin, and is returned into the south to raise more forces; for they intend speedily an attempt against us. On the 30th, Glencairn was at Maggrigor's house in Loth Kennoth, and listed three men there; to each he gave 2s. 6d., and sent them for the Lowlands, there to be in readiness, and to return on notice. All possible is used to receive him, if he comes into these parts. Bohanty is a place of no

* Killin, at the head of Loch Tay.

strength; but the best of three ways out of the Highlands. On the 31st July, in the night, divers horsemen went through Stratherne, by the house of Oadeth, into the Highlands.

Further from St Johnston's, August 13.—Last night I received intelligence that Middleton is landed in the Highlands, with arms, amunition, and men, and intend some sudden exploit. My intelligence saies they intend to fall on Inverness, and that the Highlanders did intend to fall upon the Mernes and Angus; and I find there are many broken parties out at this time.

No. 170.

From Edinburgh, September 3, (1653.)

Colonel Cobbet and his party got possession of Lewis Island about ten dayes since, and had the arms of the place surrendered to him without the least opposition.

The day following, a man of war of 16 guns, that went with the party for Lewis, was seen near the shore sounding the water, and not far from Ellan Donnel, a house of the Lord Seaforts; which Lord, having news of the English landing, would have garrisoned Kintale, but could not effect it. Major Bird, one of our commanders, died of a fever in Orkney, August 15th, who was intended for to be the governor of Lewis.

Out of Stirling we have notice, that the Lord Lorn (Argile's son) and Kenmore came within seven miles of Stirling with 120 horse; but upon the appearance of some horse of ours they retreated.

Colonel Lilburn, our commander-in-chief, (having no occasion to march on, the Highlanders being quiet, and many of them desiring to live under protection,) is returned back to Dalkeith.

From Dalkeith, September 3, (1653.)

Colonel Cobbet entered Lewis Island about fourteen dayes since, and the arms of the island brought in to him without any opposition.

On Tuesday was seven-night, Major Bird dyed of a fever in Orkney. Seafort is doing what he can to secure Ellendella,* a house of his in Kintaile over against the Lewis; but few of the people come into him, and I hope our forces will reduce that before Colonel Cobbet's return.

The Lords Lorne and Kenmore are busy about the west of Stirlingshire; and were with about 260 horse and foot within seven miles of the garrison, fired at some of ours, and killed an horse out of the ambuscade. Col. Read is marched out against them with three companies of his own regiment, and three troops of horse.

Glencarne is gone to Mula Island; but to what purpose is not known.

The Assembly at Aberdene was lately disturbed by Colonel Morgan, who drew a protestation from Mr Andrew Cant and the rest against him.

Sir James M'Donald, who is the great man in the Hebrides-Islands, sent hither the other day to Colonell Lilburne, for protections for himself and some friends, and expressed much resolution to preserve peace, &c.

I conceive the Lord Lorne's case desperate, by reason of his father turning him off, makes him joyne with that wretched fellow Kenmore, and other vagabond people, to live upon the spoile; but all they can doe will not signify any thing to speak of; nor will these wild people be able (I conceive) to make any considerable disturbance.

Vpon Col. Lilburne's going to Sterling and St Johnstone, he found those parts very peaceable, and met some Commissioners from the West Counties, to give him assurance of their peaceable intentions, to prevent any jealousies of their actings together, with their utter dislike of any of those proceedings that have bin, or are among the Highlanders.

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* Ellan Donan, the principal castle of the Mackenzies.

No. 171.

From Edinburgh, September 10, (1653.)

What small attempts have bin made toward Stirling garison by the rambling party under the Lords Lorne and Kenmore, you had an account by the last post, and how they were repelled by Colonel Read's regiment. The Marquis of Argile declaims much against the courses of his son the Lorne, holding forth very large affections for the public peace, which we hope are reall, and that he will not forfiet by any after proceedings; nor shall we suspect him, till we see real ground for the contrary. He is now labouring to reclaim his son from that desperate party to which he hath given up himself.

All the stirrs in the Highlands are at a stand still, and the ringleaders retired to their severall stations. When they will venture out again, is not imaginable; but being desperadoes, they know no other way of prosecuting their private ends, but by disturbing the publicke, as often as they fancy a favorable opportunity.

The ministers are not so forward as they were, to pray for their pretended King in express terms; but they hint it shrewdly in their prayers to that purpose.

No. 170.

From Dalkeith, September 6, (1653.)

In my last I acquainted you with the Lorne and Kenmores coming near to Stirling, and Colonel Reads marching towards them; since which there hath been a little skirmish, wherein they killed us two horse and two men, and wounded us about twenty men and some horses; but they were as well requited. When the craggs could shelter them no longer, they left our men

upon plain ground. There appeared fifty of their foot, and some horse; divers of their foot run along the hills, from hill to hill, flanking of our men, and gauling us upon our retreat, which occasioned our loss. Colonel Read yet lies in the field near Port, by the isle of Montieth, near which the engagement was.*

As yet we hear no further from Lewis. Here are divers Dutch pickeroons that rove upon these coasts.

You have here inclosed a copy of a paper, sent by Kenmore to the Lord Cardrus, whereby you may note his confidence.

My Lord,

I doubt not that your Lordship knows the intentions of this kingdom; also, the posture of affairs, and how they are ordered; therefore your Lordship is hereby required to put out your proportion of horse and foot; your horse to Sir Mungo Murray, your foot to the Laird of Duchraye, with assurance, so long as thir bounds shall be sufficient, I must expect quarters of you; but in expectation of your forwardness, I remain,

Your humble servant,

Kenmore.

September 2, 1653.

I also desire provision conform to my quarter-master's note, may be provided this night, so that it may be conveniently brought to where I shall be.

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* This relates, no doubt, to the skirmish at the pass of Aberfoil, or the similar scuffle at the Trosachs, near Loch Katrine.

FOR MY LORD CARDRUS.

These are to require the Commissioners of Cardrus, to bring into John Niper's house, within two hours after sight hereof, thirty wedders, four and twenty pecks of meal, sixteen stone of cheese, as you will answer upon your highest peril.

JOHN INGLISH.

No. 172.

Scotland, September 17, (1653.)

The Highlanders are indifferent quiet, onely since they and others of this nation cannot subdue that power of the English that is amongst them, they destroy as many particular persons as they can take advantage of; there has been lately many cruel murders committed. Three of Colonel Fitche's regiment were killed looking to the officer's horses, in sight of Inverness. Three Scots in and near the town (whom they were acquainted with) discoursing with them, each took his opportunity and durkt his man, and rode away to the Highlands with the horses, where this treacherous act was highly applauded. Mr Fulford barbarously murdered between Peterhead and Frizleburgh, going after Colonel Cobbet. Last week a soldier of Major Bridges troop, going with two suspitious persons that he had before apprehended near St Johnston's, they took advantage of him coming down an hill near the bridge of Earn; one took him by the hair, and the other drew out his sword and run him through. Also, two or three that came from the the Bray of Maner Castle, have been murdered by some Highlanders, (who they call Caterens,) that is, *Caran*, robbers; they have stolen divers horses out of severall of our quarters, and carried them into the Highlands, where there is no pursuing them. The Highlanders propose to have 1000 together in the latter end of this month,

which shall be a standing party under the command of Glencarne. M'Aldy* is to raise 200, M'Clane 200, Seafort 300, and Glencairne and Glencary to make up the rest; they resolve to keep together till they have aid from the King of Scots, which they give out will come to them shortly; or, however, the next spring they report that the English dare not (at least cannot) do them any prejudice, except they fall into the Lowlands, which is not intended by them, untill they have more strength; and they will, if they can possibly, prevent the countries adjacent to the Lowlands, from paying any assessment to the English, but to themselves.

No. 172.

By Letter from Scotland, thus:

SIR,

Yesterday, Captain John Hume (who was sometime since reported dead,) was brought prisoner hither; he and some others were to have commissions from Glencarne, and to have made a general rising for Charles Stewart; so that I perceive the design of the rising was epidemical. Marquis Huntly is coming to give bond for his peaceable demeanor and submission to the present government. I have heard nothing of Major Cobbet since his possessing Mula Island, though I hope he has done something on Seafort's house in Kintaile before this. Major Darrel, who commands a private man of war belonging to Colonel Atkins of Leith, yesterday brought six small Dutch prizes into Leith harbor.

From Ireland we are credibly informed, that there are now again up in arms 800 Tories in a body; but we doubt not but they will be suddenly dissipated, since all care will be taken to suppress them, before they further increase.

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* Lochiel, called MacDhonuil Dhuy, the Son of Black Donald.

Nothing further from our fleet, but that most of the great ships are come in; the rest are upon the coast of Holland, plying to and again.

No 173.

From Dalkeith, September 22, (1653.)

While Colonel Cobbet staid in Mula Island, the Marquis of Argile came thither; and by his advice and assistance the heritors of the countrey were brought to engage, that themselves and tenants shall live peaceably, obey the authority of Parliament, and pay sess as the rest of the shire of Argile doth; and further, engage not to act, nor suffer Mac-Cleane the tutor, to act any thing prejudiciall to the affairs of the Commonwealth, nor the garison settled in Dowart, nor pay any rent to the said Mac-Cleane, out still in rebellion, and was at our coming thither in the isle with Glencarne, to raise them to joyn with those that are to meet in Loghaber, the first of October; but upon our coming they went to Tyrree Island.* There happened the 23d instant a very violent storm upon their coasts, which continued sixteen or eighteen houres, in which we lost the Martha and Margaret of Ipswitch, a large ship, which carried all our remaining stores of ammunition and provisions, only the great guns and morter-piece were saved. We lost a small man of war, called the Swan, Captain Tarleton, commander, with two small ones, and most of our boats. But that which was most sad, was the loss of the Speedwell of Lynn, which having twenty-three seamen and soldiers in her, they were all (save one man) cast away. The loss of provisions occasioned Colonel Cobbet to boat over his men to Dunstaffenage, and so to march them through Argile's country, a dangerous passage, in case the rebels, which are now on foot, should interrupt them in their passage, which they are preparing

* Glencairn's journey to the Isles, is not mentioned in the preceding narrative of Duchrie.

to doe, though I hope he will get through the Highlands before they can be in readiness. The wind was so violent, that, in one place, so much of the topp of a rockie hill was blown down, as that the stones fell from it covered an acre of ground.

No. 174.

From Edinburgh, October 1, (1653.)

Things are here at present in a quiet posture; but its because they are kept so by vigilant force, for the coals are blown by the discontented kirkmen, (who are daring to pray for Charles Stuart,) doe yet remember him in covert terms, and such as are well enough apprehended by the people. They hanker still after that broken reed, being fed with stories from beyond sea which raise expectation. They talk of arms and ammunition to be landed; and they say Middleton is the man that must bring them out of Holland. Thus far the truth is, that Middleton hath strongly endeavoured to get supply at the Hague; but the States have hitherto rejected him.

In the meantime, the Highlanders doe ramble up and down, and make incursions into the Lowlands with small parties. The most considerable of them is Kenmore, with his companions.

A bill for the uniting and incorporating of Scotland into one commonwealth with England, was read the first time, and a day appointed to read it the second time.

No. 175.

Westminster, October 11, (1653.)

The bill for uniting and incorporating of Scotland into one Free State and Commonwealth with England, was this day read the second time, and committed.

Edinburgh, October 8, (1653.)

The Highlanders increase their numbers. Many persons of desperate lives and fortunes running in to them, and, for their better provision, steal horses throughout the country. It is certain they intend to much trouble, and make all preparations possible for that purpose; and in my opinion, if they be not timely checked, the disaffection of many of the Lowlands will engage themselves in the same design, and carry them on to desperate course. They expect great supplies from Charles Stuart; however, it is without question, he will extend his utmost interest to carry on this business, and rack all his relations and friends for fuel to his fire; and the Dutch will not fail to cast in their faggot. It is one comfort that the managery of this and other affairs is in the hands of one that hitherto hath, and, I trust, will over-rule all such malignant designs.

Leith, the same date.—The inclosed is the first course taken to suppress that growing party of rude people in the Highlands, (which some call bobtails). They are now become numerous by an addition of 5 or 600, which makes them above 1000 horse and foot; but the most effectual course will be taken (God willing) to suppress them, though it will be hard service this winter season, and the places where they are inaccessible.

You have herewith an inclosed proclamation.

By the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland.

Whereas his Excellency, by his proclamation of the 5th day of November, 1650, heretofore published, (remaining still in force,) requiring plenary satisfaction for goods, and life for life, taken from any of the English army, of those parishes and places where the fact should be committed, unless they should discover and procure the offender. And whereas the Commissioners appointed for administration of Justice, have lately published their proclamation, for the suppression of vagabonds and masterful beggars. Notwithstanding which proclamation many thefts and robberies, and murders are frequently committed (upon English and Scots), by the gathering together of many desperate, rebellious, and broken people, upon the breas of the Highlands, and in some other parts of the nation; for prevention whereof, and for the preservation of the peace for the time to come,

These are strictly to require all Magistrates and Officers, as well civil as military, and all other persons whatsoever, to take care, that no suspected person or persons travel or abide within their bounds or jurisdictions, without calling them to account for the same; and if they shall not give good account of themselves, to cause them to be secured; and if any of the said rebellious persons, or any person suspected belonging to them, or travelling to joyn with them, or coming from them, or any spy or intelligencer of theirs shall come within any burgh or parish, such burgh or parish are hereby strictly required either to apprehend them, and keep them in safe custody, or cause timely notice to be given to the next adjacent forces of the English army, who are hereby required, in like manner, to apprehend and secure; notice thereof is to be given in writing to the Judge-Advocate of the army: Or if any person or persons shall refuse or neglect his or their duty in the premises, they shall be adjudged, deemed, and taken as disaffected to the peace of the Commonwealth, and proceeded against accordingly.

And if any shall at any time furnish the afforesaid rebellious persons with moneys, horses, arms, ammunition, victual, or any kind of necessaries or provisions whatsoever, or be any wayes ayding, abbetting, assisting, or counte-

nancing them by advice, counsel, intelligence, connivance, or any other correspondency whatsoever, such person and persons shall be adjudged, deemed, and taken as enemies to the Commonwealth, and proceeded against accordingly.

And for the encouragement of all such as shall apprehend any of the aforesaid persons, or shall bring or give timely intelligence to the next forces as aforesaid, of any parties falling from the Highlands into the Lowlands, or of any persons hereby intended, or of any person or parish, who shall not neglect his or duty, in pursuance of this proclamation, such person and persons shall be lookt upon as friends to the peace of this nation, and gratified and rewarded for his or their good service done therein.

Given under my hand and seal at Dalkeith, the 27th day of September, 1653.

R. LILBURN.

To be proclaimed at the Mercat-Cross, in the Burgh,
according to the usual manner.

No. 175.

From Collonel LILBURN, *at Linlithgow, October* 8, (1653.)

Hearing that the Highland Tories were to have taken a randezvouz near the head of Lough Lomand, not far from Sterling, we are drawing some forces that way to prevent their in-fall; but they take their opportunities in the night time, and steal horses, and increase their body daily; and we perceive the ministers are not altogether ignorant, nor free from correspondence with them. Could we but tell how to come at them, I should hope to give a good accompt of them.

Glengary is gone to meet Sir James Macdonald. Kenmore hastens all he can together. The Marquis of Argile stands firm yet; and some that have formerly been out, are (notwithstanding the present stir) come in, and desire to live peaceably under protection.

No. 176.

From Scotland, October 18, (1653.)

The commander-in-chief marched from Dalkeith to Linlithgow, where two companies of Lieutenant-General Monk's regiments and three troops of horse lay that night. We had intelligence that Kenmore went from Busse to the head of Lough Long, the 7th instant, with all his men, to meet Colonel Macnaughton, who came over the Lough with him about six dayes since with a party of foot. His men run away from him daily, so that what he increaseth one day he loseth another. He marcheth with a runlet of strong waters before him, which they call Kenmore's Drum. Yesterday, we had intelligence at Colonel Lilburn's arrival at Glasgow, that Kenmore and his party was reported to goe into Argile's country. We are now upon our march to Dumbarton.

From Dumbarton, October 16, (1653.)

Having marched within sixteen miles of the Marquis of Argile's house at Innerara, with a regiment of foot and 150 horse, to see if we could have done any thing to have either engaged or snapt Kenmore, or any of his party; we found him with his party so far before, and the way so impassable for us, especially at this season of the year. After we have taken a view of a great house some ten miles hence, I returned hither, and am going over Clyde into Renfrew and Aireshires, to see in what temper the people are there. Since my coming back hither, I heard from the Lord Argile, who gives me an accompt that his countrymen and clan doth not answer his expectation in joining with him to oppose Kenmore, who, it seems, is not yet above six or seven hundred horse and foot. Yet the Lord Argile tells me he cannot advise me to advance further, though he suffer never so much by those Tories, who, (according to my intelligence yesternight,) are near unto Cantire,

where there are a party of Lowland men unwilling to receive them, as I am informed, and pretend they will oppose him.

The season not being apt at present for our forces to enter that country; nor are they so considerable as to deserve it. These troubles we may very well expect and look for, from a brute and savage people, who, in the most peaceful times, were seldome free from the like turbulencies.

No. 177.

Edinburgh, October 22, (1653.)

The insolence of Kenmore and others, Highlanders, hath shewn itself by their incursions into the Lowlands. He hath been levying men as far as Dumbarton, and sent to raise men and contributions of money, not far from Glasgow. But since that, he hath been glad to retreat, because of the advance of our Commander-in-chief; besides, part of our forces marched a good way towards Argile's country; who himself declares a detestation of these courses among the men of his country, and inveighs bitterly against his son, the Lord Lorn, for joyning with him, but can neither reclaim his son, nor keep his vassals from running out to him.

Another from the same place speaks thus :—The Commander-in-chief hath taken a march along the frontiers and brayes of the Highlands, and so Kenmore with his roving party retreated to their fastnesses. He hath planted some garisons to prevent their incursions. Some of the ministers of that party, called *Remonstrators*, intend a meeting suddenly. There are divers fishermen brought into Leith.

NUMBER 178.

Thursday, November 10, (1653.)

The Highlanders make a noise still, but can yet affect no great matter. The Marquis of Argile hath been worried out of his country by a party of them under the command of his son the Lord Lorne, and Kenmore, who are the great ring-leaders in those parts; and particularly, they fell into the Island of Cantire, a place under the said Marquisses jurisdiction, where they committed many acts of outrage and plunder.

They had no sooner done this, but hearing that our English forces were upon the advance that way, they immediately made a retreat where none, they know, can follow them. The Marquis himself, finding, upon their approach, that his vassals would not rise to oppose them, because the Lord Lorne was among them, resolved thereupon to quit the country, and is since come hither. However, some of the planters in Cantire refused to assist or supply them either with arms or ammunition; and when they had plundered them of all their cattell and horses, and the very clothes off the backs of many people, the inhabitants took heart, and followed them with a party of horse, whereby, though they miss'd of recovering the prey, yet took MacNahan,* a chief leader of their crew, and some others.

Seafort and Glengary are, with a party of three hundred horse and foot, gone towards Loghaber, where they hope to make up a considerable number, and to fall upon the North, and secure that if they can, for their quarters, and forward their design. It is given out among the people that the Dutch are very numerous out at sea.

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* MacNaughtan, then a Chief of some consequence, is mentioned in the preceding narrative as having joined Glencairn with twelve horse. See p. 159.

No. 179.

From Leith, November 7, (1653.)

The people here are harkening still to novelties, and affect any thing that sounds ill to the Government. They talk much of the Dutch being returned out of Denmark, and coming upon our coasts, and what wonders will be done thereby at sea. This conceit adds courage also to the Highlanders, who make up what force they can, and talk of a general rendezvous, as they have done often before, when they expected action at sea, and hoped to see the Dutch triumphant; wherein, being often deceived, they have often shaken their ears and retired home again *re infecta.* For they never intend to shew themselves to purpose, till a blow should be given us at sea, and then they think it will raise the spirits of many in this nation to side with them. They have their agents up and down, to blow coals.

Kenmore rambles up and down still, with his barrel drum of *aqua vitæ*, and all his triumphs, amount to no more but robbery and plunder about the country.

Here hath been a thin meeting of divers Hotspurs of the Kirk, to little purpose, saving thwarting and crossing one another,—being of different parties and opinions, to shew that the quarrel is everlasting between the Assembly-man and the Remonstrator, and that no feud is more mortal and immortal, than that which is upon the account of religion.

No. 180.

From Dalkeith, November 12, (1653.)

Kenmore's partie do yet encrease, and fall into the Lowlands, which yet they do, let what course will be taken to prevent them, the country being ge-

nerally their friends. The other night they fell into Elenhie parish, six miles from Glasgow, where Mr Beverly, an English minister, hath a gathered church. They intended to have seized upon him, but he was at Edinburgh. They plundered the godly and honest people in that parish, took about 30 horses from the country, and returned, leaving only the alarm to be taken by our forces in the morning. The last night, two miles on this side Dumbarton, they came to Sir James Hamilton's house, (a supposed friend of ours,) broke open the dores, and carried him to Kenmore. They give out that they are 5000 horse and foot. I suppose they are about 1000. Their numbers are augmented by desperate people, sequestred, sequestrable, or much in debt. At a late meeting of the Presbyters at Hamilton, a question was put, Whether Kenmore or the English were the greatest enemies. It was resolved that we are; for Kenmore had done but little hurt, but we mickle evil.

No. 181.

From Dalkeith, November 16, (1653.)

You had last week an account of the boldness of the Highland Tories, who made an excursion as far as Falkirk, and surprised there two of our Captains belonging to Col. Scroop's regiment; they surprised also two of our troopers, as they were by night passing between Kilsythe and Glasgow, with orders for that garison.

The Earl of Seaford hath certainly adjoyned himself to these rovers, who take heart thereupon, supposing more of the nobility will follow; and therefore they make bold to break out in several parts, and summon the country-people, all that are able to bear arms; and this is done in the name of the King, as they still call him. They will hardly be able to keep in any comfortable body this winter. They talk of gathering to a head, and this they have many a time this year attempted, and then let fall their design again. They are up and down alway, in a very short revolution.

Westminster, November 23, (1653.)

Amendments were reported to the Bill of Incorporating Scotland into one Commonwealth with England, which were read and agreed to, and the Bill ordered to be engrossed.

No. 182.

From Edinburgh, by the last return, December 9, (1653.)

Things are not very plausible in these parts; and the people approve themselves such as we ever thought them to be. The Highland Tories having collected themselves into several bodies, make excursions at once into several places; thinking that winter coming on, they have their opportunity, and that the hardness of the season, and the hardiness of their bodies, will be sufficient advantages against us. We hear not yet of Middleton, nor of any arms and ammunition landed, which, they say, they expect in good proportions; and that if they can but have arms, they shall not want men; and our Commander-in-chief is gone to Sterling to take order about our affairs and forces. The enemy of late hath gathered like a snow-ball in the Highlands; and, like a snow-ball, may melt again the next rainy day; for they use to be quickly up and quickly down.

From Drummond Castle, November 6, (1653.)

Glencarne, Kenmore, Athole, Forbes, and Canule, lie about the Island of Monteeth, with about one thousand horse and foot; but a third part of them want arms, instead whereof they have clubs. Glencarne intends (if he can) to raise men about this garison, and to have a footman out of every one hun-

dred pound rent, and a horse and a man out of one thousand pound Scotch, throughout all the shire; the prosecution of which, is judged by the enemy to be easy, if a considerable strength lie not at Sterling, St Johnston, and Dundee, which will be a special means to cause them to keep the hills, and prevent them from burning and carrying away provisions for horses within three miles of the said garrisons, (as they intend,) and to hinder them proceeding in their intended levies. MacNaughton is at Stra-fellon, [Strath-Fillan] and the Lord Lorn at Glenarkie [Glenorchie];—the nearest is about thirty miles from Glencarne, and about six hundred horse and foot, Highlanders, though the country speaks them thousands. They are moving to joyn with Glencarne, notwithstanding the difference between Lorn and Kenmore; and they are all for the southward, where they say they shall have assistance from Lords. Also, to heighten and inflame the people, they give out that the Lord Balcarris and Sir Robert Murray* are gone to fetch their King.

No. 183.

From Sterling, November 26, (1653.)

To give you some account of our present posture, Kenmore is going northward; but has left his beagles under one John Graham of Docra,† to steal horses and plunder the country; and Lorn, in Argile's, to perfect his levies there, which are to be 300 men. The last week a party of 100 of them came over in boats out of the Highlands into Renfrewshire, and took away horses, and returned before our forces at Glasgow could have notice to stop them. The Earl of Athole hath not got 40 men yet—the country doe not

* Sir Robert Murray is mentioned by Burnet as the authority from whom he derived some account of the Highland Insurrection to which these extracts refer.

† John Graham of Duchrie, the compiler, it is supposed, of the preceding account of Glencairn's campaign.

rise, and the considerable Barons of Athole have refused to assist them; whereupon they have imprisoned divers of them in a very disobliging way; insomuch, that some have fled to the Governour of Blaire Castle for refuge; and I hope this usage will root up that foolish popular interest that he expected would have bin considerable. The gentlemen do tell, though they destroy all their goods they will not appear in this business—as having had too large a share in former sufferings for the King; and now having engaged to live peaceably, and give submission to the union, they will rather lose their crops than their inheritance. And those gentlemen of Athole, consisting of the name of Robertson and Stewart, if any be wronged, they all participate; and a few days will produce much from those parts. These few far Highlanders that were with them, with Glengary and Clanranold, do plunder all that ever is in their way; and it was affirmed by a gentleman, that every two men among them did devour a sheep in one day. The country in those parts groans abundantly; and, for all their malignancy, are weary of these companions. They had a rendezvouz at the Kirk of Counry, [Comrey] at the head [foot] of Lougherne, where was Glencairne, Glengary, Athole, the Magriggers, and some say Kenmore, with about 2600 horse and foot, but their result not known. They have sent to all the parishes about Loughern to bring them in provisions thither. They have quitted the garisons of Weyme and Balloch, [*i. e.* Taymouth;] and it is most certain that the most of all Glengarie's men, and others that came from the furthest Highlands, are run home sufficiently laden with plunder. Many run to them—bring horses with them—sell them—and return to their employments, which makes them very distrustfull of entertaining men with such freedom as before; and their number doth not encrease at present. This for the Highland party.

As for the Lowlanders, they are as malignant as ever, and as perfect Scots. The fair and civil usage of the Commanders-in-chief, and officers that have been or are here, have not at all engaged them to the English interest. Both the gentry and boors wait only for an opportunity when that party of rogues under Kenmore, consisting of the scum of English, Irish, and Scotch-Lowland desperadoes, (and not many Highlanders) should become considerable,

and so they might rise as one man to destroy us; and to that purpose they please themselves, and encourage one another with lying stories of Middleton's landing with thousands of men, arms, and ammunition; and of others coming from Poland, France, and other parts of Christendom, to invade England; and every mole-hill of prejudice that is done to us by the party in the hills, is made a mountain; though, as yet, they have not beat up any quarters, only, like highway robbers, have here and there forty, fifty, or one hundred of them fell upon, murtherd, or robbed a single souldier or two upon the highway, or taken them in bed without a guard; nor durst between 300 and 400 horse and foot of them lately at Bukannon, stand against fewer than 200 of ours that came to engage them, but ran away without striking a stroke, unto the hills, where our horse could not follow.

Our forces, both horse and foot, are often abroad, both from Glasgow, Dunbarton, Sterling, St Jonstons, Dundee, Aberdene, and Innerness; but such is their inveterate malignancy of the country, that (through want of intelligence) we can never meet with them to do any service against them.

This day the Commander-in-chief marched from Linlithgow to Sterling. Since our coming hither we hear the enemy are 2000 strong, within eight miles. To-morrow something will be done to try if we can engage them.

From Edinburgh, December 7, (1653.)

No sooner did the Commander-in-chief march from Sterling with insight of the enemy, but they quitted their station—not daring to stand, they ran away with all speed to the hills. They increase daily in the Highlands—all men of desperate fortune flocking to them. They continue their excursions still, and expect the rising of a party with them in the Lowlands. They have attempted to fortifie a pass betwixt Sterling and St Johnstons, but they will be forced to give over the work. Middleton is not yet among them, but they expect him, and great matters to be done by him. The guards here saw a great flame lately in the air by night, over the suburbs of the city, as if it had been on fire;—after which, it took its course toward the south, and so vanished; which gives occasion to several prognosticks.

NUMBER 185.

From Old Montross, December 15, (1653.)

Captain Lisle being in quarters at Old Montrosse, in the county of Anguish, [Angus] received intelligence upon Friday the ninth of this instant, about eight o'clock, that there was a regiment of the enemies horse quartered within eight or nine miles of him; of which regiment the Lord Kinnoole is Colonel, and one David Ramsay Lieutenant-Colonel. Upon which intelligence, he forthwith sent Colonel Rich his own troop, to meet him with all convenient speed that might be, at Brechin; being a place where part of Major Bramstone's dragoons are quartered, and on the way to the enemies quarters; and they meeting according to order, he and they with part of Major Bramstone's dragoons, and twelve foot souldiers, which he mounted out of his own quarters of Old Montross, about four o'clock in the morning, marched out of Brechin, and in the break of the day fel into the enemies quarters; where, by the providence of God, there was taken, two captains, one cornet, one quarter-master, two corporals, and twenty private soldiers, and about forty horse, and some arms; for the captains, before they would be taken, suffered the house to be fired about their ears, so that there were divers arms lost in the fire; but there was three killed; and thanks to God, this was done without any hurt on our side, save only there was one man wounded by a shot in the thigh. The Lord Kinoole and Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay, with about thirty of their soldiers, being quartered in a very strong stone-house, by that means escaped us.

And by that time Captain Lisle was in his quarters upon Saturday at night, there came orders from Colonel Morgan, that he, with his troop, should meet him near Thornton, the next morning early, which accordingly he did; where met likewise Colonel Rich his troop, Major Bramston's troop of dragoons, and a commanded party of foot, about thirty in number, from Dunoter Castle. And with this party, we marched six or seven miles into the Highlands, and again fell into the Lord of Kinoole's quarters, where we took about seven or eight prisoners, and about twelve horse, killed one; and rescued the

Lord of Egles, Sheriff of that part of the country, whom they had taken prisoner from his own house the day before; Kinoole and Ramsay themselves very hardly escaping, the whole regiment totally dispersed; but our horses were so spent, and the way so troublesome, because of steep rocks and dangerous boggs, and night coming on, that we were constrained to leave off the pursuit.

A list of the prisoners in the Lord Kinoole's regiment: Captain Michael Belford, Captain Wil. Blare, Lieutenant J. Ramsay, Cornet William Grier, George Flike, J. Martin, Francis Sharp, David Ramsay, Gem. Bruse, J. Macklane, Will. Fife, D. Cuttinangus, David Lawson, Gem. Gardener, Robert Swan, J. Brand, G. Macdonald, Ar. Walle, J. Paperson, Will. Fumiston, Alex. Goodley, H. Man.

These were taken upon Saturday, December 10th, with forty horse, by Captain Edmond Lisle.

From Edinburgh, December 18, (1653.)

Affairs here seem troublesome. The Highlanders have divided themselves into several parts, conceiving it to be more conducive to their design than to keep in a body. Kenmore hath taken up his territories in the west. Glasgow and Marshes, Sir Arthur Forbes and Ramsay, are of the Brayes of Angus and Mearns. The Earl of Athole in Athole, and those clans above St Johnstons. Glencarne and Glengary towards the north parts about Inverness; and thus this new royal army have disposed their quarters; but a party of horse from hence, with Colonel Morgan, somewhat disturbed their levies in Angus; for they have taken about forty men and sixty horses; and had unregimented Kinoole, if the hills had not been friend to a few.

The news from Dalkeith is, that the enemy is departed from the hithermost parts of Athole, and gone to Kirkmichell, in order to their march northward. We are informed, Kenmore and Glencarne are both here, and that their forces reported 500 foot, and 500 horse; but some who saw them say, they cannot be above half that number. They lie under many discouragements; and every place is so eaten up where they come, that they are forced upon frequent removes; and now provisions of mutton and beef begin to decay.

It is said they intend for the north, that their quarters upon the Lowlands may be the more assured and broader, where they expect the landing of foreign forces, ammunition, and money from the King and the States of Holland, as they talk. Athole doth nothing considerable; the people refuse him men, according to command. One that saw him and his soldiers saith, he hath not got above forty foot; and Major Mercer is there with sixty horse. Captain Elsmore, of Colonel Riche's regiment, sent out a party the other day from Drummond Castle, and took one Captain Stuart, who had a commission to raise forces, with four others, and killed three on the place. The Marquis of Huntly died last week at his house at Bogy-geeth.

No. 185.

From Dalkeith, December 18, (1653.)

We have information that Kenmore will use all his endeavours to raise and force men, horses, and monies, in the south; and intends to make some inroads into the Borders of England, unless prevented, which is the more probable by the information from Durham, that twenty horsemen, well mounted, (and armed with pistols and holsters,) went through a part of that town on Tuesday last, by break of day; and amongst them (as was given out there) Lord Hopton; but the same number and party (as is supposed) lay at Pebles on Saturday night last, and with them Colonel Wogan, formerly a captain of dragoons in the Lord Fairfax's army.* The commander-in-chief, as soon

* See p. 165. The celebrated Wogan, when a youth, had been engaged on the side of the Parliament, and commanded a troop of horse under Ireton, with whom he was a great favourite. Being much shocked at the King's murder, he joined the cavaliers, and commanded Ormond's guards during the war of Ireland. When all was lost save the insurgent army in the Highlands, he fetched a body of cavaliers from Paris, landed them in Dover, recruited them in London, bought horses and arms, and, finally, by easy journies, but avoiding the common road, made their way to Scotland, beat up several quarters of the enemy, and joined Glencairn in the Highlands.

as he had got notice of it on Sunday, ordered several parties from Linlithgow, Stirling, and Glasgow, to scoure the country to prevent their going to the hills; but the country is open, and the people so backward in giving intelligence, that (notwithstanding all diligence used, and the horses almost tired out with duty,) we seldom meet with any of them. Only on Thursday night last, Lieutenant Whitmore, going from the garrison of Downe, with a party toward the hills, took one Major Moorhead, (a prisoner of war, yet upon parole and security,) well mounted and armed, going to the army, as he himself confest. They hearten their party, and increase their levies by a report that their King is come into Holland, and that Colonel Drummond is shipt with 150 volunteers, arms, and ammunition, and the Dutch have left off treating with the English, with all which they feign a post came lately from their King. On Saturday morning last, a party of these royal pilferers met the postboy going from Leith, with letters for London, near Haddington, took his horse and letters, and coat and belt, with twenty pieces in money, from the poor boy. So that now it will be uncertain sending letters without a convoy; and without further supplies of horse from England, it will be impossible to settle parties between this and Berwick, which must be, or else correspondence will be cut off.

A considerable supply is the only means to prevent the growing of this inconsiderable party of robbers in the hills. Our garrisons of Inverness and Blaire are well provided with all things necessary, and fear no attempt.

From Dalkeith, December 22, (1653.)

The last gave you an account of the enemy's main body, under Glencarne and Kenmore, marching northward. What they have done we hear not; but if they have no better success in their levies, than Sir Arthur Forbes hath in the south, they are not like to bring their hogges to any fair market; for Captain Hart being sent out by the commander-in-chief, of Colonel Twisleton's regiment, to scoure the parts of the north about Dumfreize, the Meres, and Tividale, after ten or twelve dayes searching up and down, and tiring almost all his horses, the 12th instant, marching towards Hawick, by the way understood

that the enemy had appointed a rendezvouz at twelve hours upon Bathwick-bray [Borthwick-brae]; whereupon he hastened thither all he could, but was much impeded by the foulness of the weather, and a violent drift of snow; so that before he came, the randezvouz was broken up. He pursued them by the track in the snow; for he could not get intelligence of them, although within a mile of their body. At last he got sight of them; they drew up in two bodies, and faced our men. Ours made what haste they could to charge them. After a short conflict, it pleased the Lord to give ours the victory over them. We pursued them several miles as long as our horses would goe; and although our horses were extreamly wearied, and theirs fresh, not above fifteen horse escaped; their number about four score or more; their prisoners say a hundred; our party about eighty-five; horses, many of them good ones; sixteen prisoners; two or three of them seem to be of note, though they conceal themselves. In the pursuit, many were cut down, and put off their horses, and so left, concluding those that came afterwards would glean them up; but the souldiers were busier in getting horses than in securing prisoners, and so many escaped away on foot; but will be known wherever they are met, having the State's mark upon them. There were four of them slain. Sir Arthur Forbes, it is reported, is dangerously wounded, and his major, Major Erwin. We took both their horses; they fought very resolutely a great while. Quarter-Master Ward, with fifteen or sixteen souldiers, are wounded, and one slain. The fight was at Philip, upon Bathwick water. Senlis,* the High Sheriff of Roxburgh, is redeemed out of their hands; but one of our souldiers ran him into the thigh, not knowing him. He was very affectionate to our party. Those of the enemy that are escaped, are gone by the way of Bigger towards the hills; parties are sent to interrupt them.

The intent of Glencarne and Kenmore in their marching to the north, is (as they gave out) to secure the landing of the Dutch forces, arms, and ammunition, which it seems they expect.

The late revolutions are well resented here, and the army very unanimously to assist my Lord Protector in the carrying on the public affairs.

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* Ker, Laird of Sunlaws.

No news from sea, save that our fleet are about sixty sail, and General Monk riding not far from Saint Helena Point.

No. 187.

From Dalkeith, December 31, (1654.)

There is not much hath come to my knowledge since the last. There is a ship of arms from Holland certainly landed about Loqukaher [Lochaber,] in the Highlands; with which a ship of Captain Bressies, (which lay about the Lewis for trade,) had some change of ordnance; but not having men on board her, durst not go forward, and next day the Highlanders put more men on board the Hollander. One man of war would have cleared these coasts, and prevented their passage; this was the ground of the enemies motion, which, as I hinted in my last, was supposed to bend northwards to Aberdeen; but it was to fetch these arms, what number, or what other provisions were, I know not; but Colonel Wogan hath made great promises to them from their King, and is made colonel. Rory MacCloude, tutor to young MacCloude, came over into the Herries, which is a part of Lewis Island, to raise men; but the people would not obey him, not that they have any love to the Commonwealth, more than the rest of the Highlanders, but because they are under the power of our garrison, and he hath no visible power to defend them, they never giving intelligence till he was returned to the main, and had endeavoured to surprise some vessels of Captain Bressies, who, having notice of it, prevented his designe by putting into an open road. The men which he hath are about 400, most of them are old Irish rebells, which have made their escape from thence; he is waiting for Kenmore's coming into the North Highlands to joyn with him. There is a man of war of Holland lies between Lewis and the main, with whom MacCloude holds correspondence.

From Dalkeith, January 3, (1654.)

The 28th of December, the enemy had a rendezvouz upon the Haugh, (a piece of plain ground near Weyme.) The parts about Weyme are miserably wasted, and the gentlemen of Atholl ill resenting their oppression; Kenmore and Glengary marcht north about 200 horse and foot, intending to meet Seaforth at Lagennongham Drum,* where their whole body intends to rendezvouz: Before their going there was a falling out between Kenmore and Glengary, and a duel appointed, but prevented by the endeavours and wits of their associates. Wogan, with his twenty cavaliers, are at present with Atholl, near Logiret, well mounted, armed, and several of them in rich apparel, which adds encouragement to the Highland fury. The enemy have severally spoiled most of such horses as they have taken from gentlemen's stables, their bellies almost dryed up with heats, too much corn, and ill dressing. Their levies in Perthshire are at a stand; they get no men, but some poor rogues; and the penalty they impose upon the country is, if they can take a rich man, they keep him till he can ransom himself; and take several able-bodied men out of their beds, and force them into arms, or make them hire others; but what addition they will have in the north is uncertain.

On Friday last, Lord Kenole, about eight in the morning, appeared near Glams with a party of horse, consisting of seventy, or thereabouts; his designe was to surprise the horse belonging to Glams, as they came from watering, lying in a covert-place for that purpose; thinking thereby to increase his number, and to procure exchange for his men taken at Edgill, and coming at first with a small party riding into Glams, took three of our men; which Major Ducket (who commanded Colonel Riche's troop then,) having notice [of,]

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* Lagan-ach 'n drom, a neck of land betwixt Loch Locha and Loch Oich, in the track of the Caledonian Canal.

sent out his quarter-master with twenty horse, to discover the party, who, advancing with two files of foot that were to make good a bridge, gave them a charge, and routed and dispersed their whole party, took the Lord Kinole and fourteen more, all much wounded; about five horse. At the coming away of the letter, had sent out a party to gather up the rest, all quitting their horses, and betaking to the bogs; Major Ramsay was there, but escaped. We had one man killed, and seven wounded slightly; three of the enemy were killed on the place, and our men that were taken, rescued.

No. 187.

From Dalkeith, January 4, (1654.)

Part of the army is at Glasgow, seing to the safety of those parts, where they are in good condition. Intelligence from that place saith, that notice was given where Sir Arthur Forbes (he that was lately routed with his party) lay at a small cottage, sore of his wounds that he had received. A party of horse was sent thereupon to seize him; but he quitted that place two days before; and the country are false to us, that they will give no direction which way to follow upon any occasion.

The Scots that will not rise with the Highlanders are plundered by them. The Highlanders lay contributions upon them, which bring them very low, because they pay likewise toward the maintenance of our English army. We hear of supplies coming out of England, as the regiments of horse belonging to Major-General Lambert, and Commissary-General Whalley, and the regiment of foot belonging to Sir William Constable, they being already on their march; by whose assistance we doubt not but to send this plundering crew back again to the Highlands, where they will not be able to subsist in a body; all their dependence being upon Charles Stuart, and his endeavours with the Dutch for money and arms.

If a peace be with Holland, (and we hear it is in a fair way), the first news of it will quite take away their hearts, and make them of their own accord re-

tire to their several habitations, without ever drawing a sword against them. So great a destruction hath already been brought upon Scotland by these robbers, that a few months' longer continuance of spoil and disorder would bring them into the same condition with the Irish, who have been by famine forced to eat the corpses of their deceased friends, after divers dayes of interment. And yet these are not much to be pitied by us, because of their implacable enmity, who will rather suffer themselves to be undone by the enemy, rather than give notice to our garrisons, when any of the Highlanders came amongst them, or pass through the country, accounting and calling it treachery to be any way instrumental in the surprising of those that would destroy them. There is a talk among them, as if the Highlanders had some arms and ammunition landed in the northern parts.

No. 188.

A Declaration by the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland.

Forasmuch as it is apparent, that (notwithstanding my Proclamation of September 27th last,) many serviceable horses daily go to the enemy, to the great disservice of the peace of this nation, which could not be without too much connivance of the owners or possessors: These are, therefore, strictly to require all manner of persons who now are, or shall hereafter be possessed of any serviceable horses or mares, exceeding the value of L.5 Sterling, to bring in the same within forty-eight hours next after publication hereof, unto the next adjacent garison or quarters of our army, under the penalty not only of forfeiting treble the value of such horses and mares as shall not be brought in, the one moiety thereof to the use of the state, and the other moiety to the party informing; but also deemed as an open enemy, and dealt withall accordingly; which horses and mares so brought in, shall nevertheless be at the owner's choice, either to have meet satisfaction for them, as they shall be reasonably worth, or keep them within the said garison or quarters of our army; and the respective sheriffs and deputies within their sheriffdoms, are

hereby required to cause these presents solemnly to be proclaimed and published, according to accustomed manner of publishing proclamations. And afterwards (that none may pretend ignorance) to cause to be distributed to the several presbyteries, within their said sheriffdoms, a competent number hereof.

Given under my hand and seal at Dalkeith,

R. LILBURN.

From Berwick, January 11, (1654.)

They write from Scotland that the Lord Kenmore and MacAldore, with six or seven hundred men, are about the Lord of Grante Graccuts [Grant of Urquart's] bounds, and Strathspey, where they expect Seafort's party to joyn them. Colonel Morgan hath drawn out a party of horse and foot, to engage them (if possible) in case they come down from the hills. Captain Hart lately sent a party of horse from Kelsoe into Northumberland, where they took one Richardson, a moss-trooper, who lay there to be a guide to some party out of England, and one John King, who was a corporal with Sir Arthur Forbes; Sir Arthur is not yet heard off, whether yet dead or living. Young Montross is lately joined with the enemy, and also the Lord Charles Gordon, only brother to the late Earl of Huntly, and head of their clan, is gone in unto them. They proceed very vigorously in their new levies.

The Earle of Athole was lately, with about two or three hundred horse, and five hundred foot, at Cooper, in Angus, and from thence went to Meagill, and so back to the hills.

You may perceive their greatest confidence is in the hills, who, rather by cunning and craft, doe shelter themselves, than come out and fight as men, but the Lord will finde them out in his due time.

From Dalkeith, January 7, (1654.)

The supplies are safely and timely arrived here, for the encouragement of our forces in this nation, where affairs look with no pleasing face, by reason of the great devastations, spoyls, and devourings, made by the Highland locusts, who have been swarming and pilfering up and down in all parts; and now their very active in their levies.

Doubtless, the enemy have been fed and heightened with more than ordinary hopes and promises, and so may be more considerable than is believed, as to matter of resolution; but how to accomplish any thing of moment, is yet not seen; but great men do still flock to them.

As this week, the commander-in-chief hath received an account of the flying out of young Montross, and Charles, Lord Gordon, only brother to the late Marquis of Huntly, and chief of that clan, who are going in to the enemy.

Here is news come this day, that a letter came to Edinburgh from Aberdene, importing the arrival of seventeen Dutch ships in the north, with fifteen hundred foreiners, and arms, and two hundred horse; but we have not yet had any account of it from any of our own people.

No. 189.

From Ruthven Castle, January 2, (1654.)

I had given you account of the enemy's first advance into this countrey, but through the baseness of some of the people, my bearer was discovered to the enemy, and taken by them, but not my letters; and Kenmore caused him to be burned, both hands and feet, in a most barbarous and cruell manner, to cause him to confess what he had done with my letters, which, notwithstanding, he refused to do; and yesterday being appointed

for his execution, within sight of this garrison, a deep sleep fell upon his guard, so that he escaped their hands, and came back to me. Kenmore and Glengary, with their forces, marched by the way of Strathspey, and Glencarne, Lorn, MacIldu, and some of MacGrigger's men, with the rest of that gang. Atholl being left behind, marched in by the head of this countrey, and joyned their forces within three miles of this garrison, where Glencairne now quarters. At their approach to this place, Glencairne sent me a letter stuffed with Scotch compliments, the copy whereof, with my answer, as also his letter to the country gentlemen, are inclosed. There hath faln out some discontent between Glencairne and Lorn, about the men of this countrey; Lorn saying, that by reason they were his men, he ought as well to have the ordering and disposal of them, as the Earle of Athole had of his: But Glencairn told him, that although his father took up the rents of the countrey, the men were the Marquis of Huntley's, and Lorn should have nothing to do with them, but he would use them as he pleased; whereupon high words arose between them, and Glencairne offered to draw his sword, and Lorn went away in great rage, swearing, that rather than he would see his own people abused by Glencairne, he would lose his life;* and thereupon drew to the other side of the water from Glencairne, and MacKelduy, with some of Macgrigger's men, and about sixty horse with him, and sent the inclosed in all haste to the gentry of the countrey; but some of them fearing it might be some plot, did not answer his desires. I sent a letter, the copy whereof is inclosed, to some went to him, knowing that they shew whatever letters to them.

Yesterday Glencairne had rendezvouz about four miles off, on the north side of the river, and Lorn, with MacKelduy, and what others he had with him, were drawn up on the south side of the river [Spey] wel nigh in oppo-

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* For this secession of Lorn, and its consequences, see p. 163. It appears the account of the matter received by the English was not accurate, for the journal represents Lochiel, whom they call by his patronymic MacIlduy (Mac Dhonil duibh,) as joining with Lorn, whereas, in conjunction with Glengarry, he was sent in pursuit of him by Glencairn.

sition, and the whole of their number was not above 1600 horse and foot. The last night, Lorn and Colonel Moynes [Menzies,] with six horse, left and fled, and Glencairne presently sent a party of horse after him to apprehend him. Had Lorn stayed and concurred with them, this countrey for the most part would have gone his way; but this difference hath put most of them to a stand, and some of them are fled to Inverness, and other parts, to secure themselves. Parties of horse, and posts are directed every way for the apprehending of Lorn; the enemy take up all horses they can find, and, except some few troopers, they are work-horses, and poore countrey beasts without shooes; and their foot poore starven fellows, many of them having no other arms but cudgels, and those that have arms, have no ammunition; and they are full of fears; so that had we but six hundred horse and foot at this time, we might in all probability put them to their best shifts to escape our hand. They use this countrey somewhat hardly, and especially since Lord Lorn's departure. And that same night the difference was between them, Glencairne, in a despitefull manner, removed his quarters to Ballathrone, where the Bailiffe's interest lies, and I heare he hath left little there that could either be eaten or carried away. I am informed that the Lord of Grant, although he hath not personally appeared with them, hath sent divers letters unto them. And further, my intelligence sayes, that the enemy intend, when they have eaten up this countrey, which will not be long at the rate they devour, to separate, to wit, Glencairne to march north towards Innerness, Ross, and Caithness; and Kenmore towards Aberdeenshire. What is become of Lorn's men, I cannot yet certainly learn, but the flying report is, that they are dispersed. The enemy keep guard on the other side of the water, at the Kirktown, within less than twice musket-shot of the castle, but never appear on this side of the water within sight of the castle, and where I cannot over to them by reason of the ice. Since I began to write, my intelligence assures me, that the occasion of Lorn's so sudden flight was, that after he had faln out with Glencairne, that same night he sent a letter to me, to advise me where to fall on Glencairne's men with the best advantage; but his bearer proving false, carried his letter to Kenmore; whereupon they drew up part of the army that way, thinking to take him that night, and so fled,

as aforesaid; they have imprisoned seven or eight of the chief gentlemen that were with him. It is also said, that Lorn posted away a letter to his father, acquainting him with his condition, and that he was coming in to him. The Braymen of this countrey doe close with the enemy.

[Here follow some passages betwixt the Earl of Glencarn and one Captain Hill, a commander of our forces in Scotland.]*

For my honoured Friend, Captain John Hill, Governour of the Castle of Badgenoth [Badenoch].

Sir,

I have seen a letter of your's directed to the gentlemen of Badgenoth, [Badenoch] wherein you have expressed so much fidelity to your unjust masters from whom you trusted, that it makes me conceive, if those principles of your's were rightly founded upon warrantable grounds of legality, you might yet redeem your former failings, and those principles of honour and virtue which now are darkened in you, being out of their true channel, may shine eminently, when unclouded, from under those fatall wayes and snares, wherein many galant spirits in this age are insnared. Thus much I have conceived it fit to shew you, that I might undeceive you in some opinions, upon which I find you ground your arguments in your letter to the gentlemen of Badgenoth: As first, you look upon your Commonwealth (as you call it,) as one firm fixt government, whilk the Lord knows there is at this instant no such thing in England; that power which was lately called a Parliament, being by the trustees again surrendered in Cromwel's hand; and now none knows what government he will pitch on; another ground you goe upon in your letter, that this army now on foot by his Majesties command, for his and his long oppressed people's delivery, will soon vanish. It seems, the distance you are at in this remote place, admits you not right informa-

* The writer of the foregoing letter.

tion; you may indeed look upon this as the Lord's work, returning the abused spirits of all his Majesties subjects to their duty to their King and countrey; for now most of all Scotland are in arms, and have marched through the greatest part of England, to joyn with his Majesties forces in this kingdom; besides, what is doing in Ireland, all Christian princes are arming against those you now serve, and ere long will bring a flood of strangers upon them, if the Lord doe not bring them to prevent their ruine by a timely submission to his Majesties just command. I have given you this right view of the present condition of affairs, because I have bin informed of your gallantry, that when you reckon betwixt God and you alone, and deales impartially with yourself, you doe yourself that right to imploy to that vertue God hath given you in the most approven way by him, wherein, if you finde I can serve, you may freely command your friend and servant,

GLENCAIRN.

December 30, 1653.

For the Earl of Glencairn.

MY LORD,

Your's I received by your trumpet, wherein you have put yourself to much labour to convince me of the erroneousness of my principles, and of my blindness for want of information; the truth is, I see not so far as I desire; but the more I see, the more I discover of the unwarrantableness of your proceedings, going about to disquiet the peace of the country, and to devour that little which the poor people have left them, upon pretence of a King, which I assure you I have disowned, and will still disclaim; and whereas you are pleased to inform me of the greatness of your army, and of many who appear daily for you in England and Ireland, I am apt to believe that were you as powerfull as you speak, your Lordship might have had better quarters in the Lowlands; but were you ten times the number that you are, it should not cause me to own that power which you call kingly, or to betray that trust committed to me by my just masters, the deliverers, under God, of the poor oppressed and enslaved people of the Commonwealth of

England and Scotland, from regall tyranny and bondage, but shall, through the Lord's assistance, approve myself faithfull to them, while called by the name of

JOHN HILL.

Ruthven Castle, December 30, 1653.

From Dalkeith, January 17, (1654.)

The enemy are part in Badyenoth, and part in the Laird of Grant's bounds. The partie that Colonel Morgan drew from Aberdeen towards Innerness, could not get over Spey, the waters were so high. The Boggy Geeth* is a very useful garrison, the Marquis of Huntly's lady being removed to Strathbogie. The enemy are much startled at Argile's son Lorn's revolt, and think there is a greater design in the same than is presently apparent. There is to be a great meeting in Argile, of all the Clan Campbell, it is said, to offer some proposals to the commander-in-chief. Sir Arthur Forbs yet lies wounded in some part of Monteith.

On Thursday last, Athol and Lorn were at the house of Balloch,† near Lough Tay, since which Athol is very sick, and in Weem's garrison, and Lorn pretends his father is not reconcileable to him, whereupon he goes not home. The 14th instant, the Captain-lieutenant to Colonel Oky, with a party from St Johnston's, fell into the quarters of about forty of the enemy's horse about Strabaughan [Strabaan,] near Little Dunkeld, under Lieutenant Ramsay, took ten prisoners and sixteen horses, and killed two on the place. But Captain Elsemore's troop from Drummond had not so good success, for the lieutenant being sent out with a partie of thirty horse, to rescue some sheep taken by the enemy, near the garrison, pursued so far as to rout them; but another partie of 60 horse, and 100 or 200 foot, lying in ambuscade,

* The Bog of Gight, near Castle Gordon.

† Now called Taymouth, and principal seat of the Breadalbane family.

our men had a very difficult retreat, yet twenty of them charged through, the lieutenant was killed, the cornet, one corporal, two trumpeters, and seven troopers taken, and the quarter-master wounded. Divers of the enemy were killed, and amongst the rest (it is supposed) Wogan, for he and the English with him gave the first charge.

No. 190.

From Dalkeith, January 22, (1654.)

Since the engagement of our party at Drummond, we have had little news. We cannot yet hear what loss of men was on the enemies part, nor who the persons were that were slain. Only one Captain Ker, and another person of quality, who they said was the second brave man they had in arms, but they had very many wounded.

The main body of the enemy continues in Murray-land, between Inverness and Aberdeen. A party of 300 foot, under one Lieutenant-Colonel Henlet, of Newark, and 100 horse, commanded by one Inchinrole, came lately into Dumbarton town, staid an hour and went thence. At the last going away of the Highland Scots before this, the inclosed was posted upon the market-cross, with these expressions in it, "Our ancient old enemy, the kingdom of England:" So that you see by this it is a national quarrel, and not for the Stuarts. Herein our enemies shew the bottom of their design, to destroy the English, and it is a sweet invitation for English to joyn them. If their plots be laid no deeper, we suppose they will not be able much to hurt us.

We hear that Colonel Humphrey's gallant troop of dragoons are upon the Borders, and some other coming to reinforce us, which is welcome news; and now we shall be able at all turns to meet with the enemy.

A Proclamation.

William, Earle of Glencairn, Lord Kilmares, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesties Forces within the Kingdom of Scotland.

Forasmuch, as to the prejudice of his Majesties service, and the advancement of our ancient old enemy, the kingdom of England, who, by their perfidious practice and unlawful means, still pretending the good and advancement of the Protestant religion, has endeavoured the reducement and enslaving of us, our predecessours and countrey, to their subjection, many pretended countreymen, of severall qualities, within the shire of Dunbarton, Aire, Rantfrew, and other adjacent places on the south of Forth, are not ashamed to bring in, sell, and deliver to severall officers of garrisons, belonging to the said grand enemy, the whole serviceable arms, and other offensive weapons they either have, or possibly can acquire, whereby his Majesties leivies in most part of these shires are greatly impeded, far contrary to our naturall countreymen, inhabiting the north shires, who by their good example laying to heart the bleeding condition of their native countrey, doe all unanimously take up arms, and joyn with us for relief and recovery therof: We do, therefore, by these presents, signifie and declare, that whatsoever person or persons, of whatsoever quality, within any of the said shires of Dunbarton, Aire, Rantfrew, or places adjacent, shall, upon whatsoever pretence, after the publication hereof, presume to sell, deliver, or give up to any belonging to the said common enemy, any serviceable horses or arms, to the prejudice of his Majesties service; or levies of horse or foot employed upon any of them, the whole good and gier of the person or persons, disobeyers of this command, (without respect of any) shall be sequestrate and confiscate for the use of any whatsoever can first apprehend them: for meddling with, and effectuating whereof, these presents shall be irreducible warrant, and ordains publication hereof at the Market-cross of Dunbarton, whereby they, nor none

inhabiting the shires of Aire, Ranfrew, or places adjacent, pretend ignorance hereof.

Given at Weems, this 22d of December, 1653.

Sic Subscribitur,

GLENCAIRN.

No. 190.

From Dalkeith, January 24, (1654.)

The 19th instant, Colonel Daniel, Governour of St Johnstons, having intelligence that the enemy were in or about Dunkeld, sent out 100 horse and 100 dragoons, under the command of Captain-Lieutenant Ashly, of Colonel Twisleton's regiment, who came very neer the town undiscovered; and the forlorn fell in with two of their scouts, they made some resistance at the barracado, but our few dragoons beat them thence, entered the town, and killed six or seven at the entrance. Our forlorn went in the meantime to the other end of the town, and pursued them that (upon the alarum) got away towards the hills and passages betwixt the town and Blaire, and there were seven of them killed; many had the States mark, and most of Athol's troopers made footmen; they brought fifty horses with them, and seven prisoners of Athol's regiment, also many carabines, cloaks, boots, and other things belonging to them; and had they not escaped to the woods and crags, which are at the very town's end, there had been more in our custody. Athol was there himself, and I believe this will be a great obstruction to his levies; he had about 100 or 150 foot with him, most of whom got to the hills. The horse pursued them above two miles beyond the town, and wounded many; but being very eager in the pursuit, and the woods within two or three yards of the very passage, they had no more to do, but being knockt off their horses, to run into the thickets, and then they were safe. It was a very seasonable mercy, both to ballance their height upon the business of Drummond, and also to lay a dis-

couragement upon the temper of that wild people. There was one of Colonel Twisleton's own troop killed. Some of the prisoners confess that Wogan was run through the shoulder at Drummond, and lies ill at Weims. Captain Elsmore's lieutenant and Captain Ker did kill each other, both of them at one instant firing together at four yards distance, with both their blunderbusses, and fell both from their horses immediately.

The enemies head-quarters are now in Elgan; their general, Glencairn, with about 1200 foot, and 300 horse, besides dragoons. They have beleaguered Burgie, which is a garrison of ours. Kenmore is at Forres, and keeps his guards upon the river Findern, to secure the passage to Innerness. The 20th instant, Colonel Morgan was marching towards them with fourteen companies of foot, and eight troop of horse and dragoons. This day there are nine prisoners sent in from Captain Hart, divers of them are Englishmen, who were in the engagement with Forbes, and one Richardson, a mosstrooper.

No. 191.

Edinburgh, February 1, (1654.)

Colonel Morgan marching from Aberdeen with fourteen companies of foot, and eight troops of horse and dragoons, towards the enemy, Glencairn and Kenmore the same day went out of Murrayland toward the hills. They burnt all the Lord Lothan's* land, (the Lord Brodie's uncle), because he kept his house out against them in the late in-fall into the Earl of Athol's quarters at Dunkel. There was killed one Captain Robertson, one Captain Hunter, (a young laird who attended Athol), the Laird of Bailachan, Major

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* Lothan's Land, see p. 166. The narrator says, that this burning Brodie of Leithan's corns was the only damage of the kind which happened in consequence of Glencairn's direct authority. Undoubtedly, however, much similar mischief was done by his desultory army, though perhaps contrary to his inclination, or without his knowledge.

Mercer run into the body with a tuck, and through the arm. It is believed he will not live; there are about twenty more slain and desperately wounded. The 23d instant, Athol had a rendezvouz of the country at a place called Cairane, but had very slender appearance. Sir Arthur Forbes and Wogan lie ill of their wounds at Weems; Wogan is not likely to recover. Colonel Hume, with about sixteen more out of the March, or Berwickshire, are this week gone to joyn with those in the hills.

No. 191.

From Dalkeith, January 31, (1654.)

Upon the march of Colonel Morgan from Aberdeen, the enemy hastened their march out of Murrayland towards Ross and the hills; so that Colonel Morgan returned back to Aberdeen without doing any thing against them; only Major Knight's Cornet, with a party of that regiment, took Glencairn's captain, lieutenant, and five horsemen, and sent them prisoners to Innerness. There being a party of Scotchmen who have formerly done good service in a smaller party, the commander-in-chief gave them encouragement to raise about forty horse, with which they have more advantage to come upon the enemy (by their Scotch tone) than our forces have.

On Saturday last, this party fell upon the Earl of Athol, took a captain, a lieutenant, cornet, and fifteen other prisoners, with twenty horse, and killed nine or ten in all. On two or three days before, sent in a captain, and another horseman, prisoner to Dundee. The ministers in these parts praying for Charles Stuart as their King, (for which they pretend conscience), the commander-in-chief hath secured many of them. There is a very strange report here, that the Lord Seaforth hath stormed our fort at Lewis Island with 1400 men, and taken it, which I cannot believe, in regard the governor there was confident to defend it against thousands; yet it is certain that Seafort was preparing to attempt it, and we had no ship on those coasts.

No. 192.

Edinburgh, February 6, (1654.)

The enemy at their late being in Badgenoth got three men from every four ploughs in that country, except one near the water [river Spey]; but many of them returned back. The Louhabec [Lochaber] men did plunder much when the enemy was in Murriland, and then left them. The greater part of Lelentarne's forces, [Glencairn's forces], are at Strathspey, near the Land of Gyants, [Laird of Grants], who will (as is said) keep out his house against them, having taken in men and provisions to that end.

The 28th instant, about thirty-six horse came into the Coast [Carse] of Gowry, to Sir Peter Haye's house called Meginch. They did break his outer court, and demanded his horses, threatening to burn his corn otherwise; but he firing at them, they ran away. But two days after, a great party came and burnt about L.600 Sterling in corn; also the Earl of Linlithgow's corn, for not delivering his horses.

From Dalkeith, February 5, (1654.)

After the enemies departure of Bagenoth, we had this account of their proceedings there, that they got three men from every four ploughs in the country, except those near the garison of Ruthven; but many of them since are come back, the people going according to the ministers' exhortation given them, "To give the Devil a bone in his mouth, and get him to the door." However, many of them have suffered much by the enemy, especially such as fled the country at their approach. Things have of late been pretty quiet, and some of the enemies seem to desire passes to live quietly at home. Colonel Wogan is for certain dead of those wounds he got near Drummond, and buried in the Highlands. His captain-lieutenant also is irrecoverable, which discourages the whole party of the English, and I am told they are upon dissolving. Their cruel acts of burning their countrymen's houses and corn,

make them stink in their nostrils; and I am apt to believe they are not so much of one party as was supposed, nor their designe so universal.

Middleton is departed with about 200 cavaliers for the Highlands, having five or six small vessels to transport his followers and necessaries. This State is sending an extraordinary to his Majesty of France. The thoughts of peace makes our merchants very pleasant, it being a matter taken for granted.

No. 193.

From Dalkeith, February 11, (1654.)

The inclosed is the greatest part of the news here at present: Kenmore, with body, about 2000 of those wild people, is now at Kildrunning [Kildrummy,] a house of the Earl of Mar's in Murrayland. They have been very quiet of late, and if a peace with the Seven Provinces be concluded, they are not like to be very troublesome. Most of Wogan's party (now he's gone the way of all flesh) are contriving to get as well out of Scotland as they came into it.

We do daily snap divers of the enemy in small parties. A lieutenant of Colonel Fairfax's regiment, with twelve dragoones, took four of Glencairn's own troop, and eight horses; and one Lieutenant Rutherford, who commanded them, narrowly escaped. Glencairn hath sent out a proclamation, threatening fire and sword to all those that do not comply with him in sending in their levies. Mr J. Goodwin's seventeen Queries are reprinted at Leith.

On Saturday, four of Colonel Twisleton's, and two of Colonel Okay's, going from Drummond Castle for St Johnston's were set upon by fifty of the remains of Sir Arthur Forbs and Wogan's horse, took three of them, killed two, and the other escaped. There is a considerable party of the enemy in those parts about the countrie, who are very active since the drawing the horse northwards; but upon the coming in of two regiments from England, our horse will be placed so as to meet them at all turns. Colonel Drummond

is certainly got to the enemy with further instruction for Charles Stuart, from whom he is sent to see in what posture they are, and whether so considerable as to protect him, in case he should come to him in summer. He tells them, that his Majesty strained hard to send to them a ship with ten thousand arms, which is cast away upon the coast of Ireland, though I am apt to think it is the same ship that was driven from the coast of Louqhaber to Killebiggs [Killibeggs ?] There is nothing since my last come from the north.

GLENCAIRN'S *Proclamation.*

Whereas it hath pleased his Majesty to appoint horse and foot to be levied within the kingdom of Scotland, for opposing the common enemy, for giving a check to the pride and oppression of those cruel traitors, whom God in his justice hath permitted to overcome, and to be the instruments of Scotland's punishment for its sin, and are no otherwise to be looked on but as God's scourge upon us, which he will soon remove and consume in his wrath, if we could turn to him with unfained repentance. And to the end his Maestie's service may be advanced, and that none of his faithful subjects may pretend ignorance, and that it may appear how willing we are that the levies may be done orderly and equally, we have thought fit to cause intimate to all shires and parishes, and head burghs, by open proclamation, that every one may make his severall proportions ready to be delivered to the respective officers appointed for the same, and commissioners likewise under our hand, wheresoever the foresaid officers shall come or send to require them. Likewise that all who, after intimation hereof, do remain disobedient, and without fear of God, duty to their King and country, tyes of covenant, love to religion, sense of honour, will move to their duty, may be proceeded against with fire and sword, unworthy to be looked upon as Scotchmen, to the terror of all false-hearted traitors, who, by their treacheries and rebellions against their lawful King, and his just power and authority, has drawn on this great deluge of God's wrath upon all the three kingdoms.

And likewise, we do hereby require, that where heretofore any horses has been brought from any well-affected person or persons beyond their due proportion, that the respective parish, or next adjacent parishes, where the said horses have been taken, that they shall mete and stent themselves equally, for bearing equal burden, and refound the persons from whom any horse have been taken beyond their proportions; and the just proportion of horses now to be put forth, is declared to be one man well mounted, with all necessaries, fourth of every one thousand pound of rent; and the proportion of foot, every third man; and what dragoons are to be levied, two foot are to be accounted for one dragoon. And for the further publication hereof, these are to ordain commissioners of parishes, where no burghs are, the provost and bailies of burghs do proclaim this at the mercat-cross of each burgh, and to give copies hereof to all parishes within their presbyteries, as they will answer the contrary upon their highest peril.

Given under our hand the 1st of February, 1654.

Sic subscribitur,

GLENCARNE.

From Dalkeith, 14*th February*, 1653, [1654?]

On Wednesday last, Colonel Morgan, with eight companies of foot, six troop of horse, and three troops of dragoons, with a party of commanded horse out of the Mearnes of Angus, marched from Aberdene; and upon Thursday, about two of the clock, came to the Lough, at the head of Cromar, where Glencairne and Kenmore were at a rendezvouz, and (after a little dispute) he totally routed their army; but being so near the hills, he could do no more execution than to take and kill 140, having pursued them seven miles into the field, their general hardly escaping with about forty horse. After this engagement, Colonel Morgan marched towards Kildrummy.

Nor was Captain Mutloe in the Western Highlands idle; for hearing that the Laird of Archaton [Ardchatan], (being one of the chief malignants in Lorne,) had garrisoned his house for the enemy, he drew forth a party out of Dunstaffenage and Dunnelly [Dunolly], fell upon the house, and, after some dispute, having killed three of the enemy, entered the house, and took a lieutenant, with other prisoners, and store of ammunition and arms. The gentlemen and heritors of the shire of Argyle had lately a meeting with the Marquis thereof at Innerara, where they resolved not to joyn with those people in arms; but to be ready at twenty-four hours warning to oppose them. The business at the Lewis was thus: Normand Macloud, with 4 or 500 men, landed in Lewis Island, and after three or four dayes staying in some inaccessible places of the isle, fell upon our souldiers, who lay at Sternway [Stornaway], out of the fort, and killed twelve of them; but a party out the fort beat them thence, relieved the remainder of the men, removed the goods into the fort, and burnt the houses. The last week, Lieutenant-Colonel Cottrel marched out of Glasgow, to reduce the garrison of Rosdew [Rosedhu], near Loughlomond; and before he came near it, the enemy ran away, and left word that they had no orders to fight. We hear also that Brockie, captain-lieutenant to the late Colonel Wogan, is dead of his wounds; and the Earl of Athol, that fires and burns folks' corn and horses, threatened to shoot Holland, the chyrurgeon, unto death, for not curing Wogan and Brockie. Some of those blades begin to cry *Peccavi*, and sends to desire liberty to live peaceably; and no doubt ere long they will betray one another into our hands. This day the Lord Calender is apprehended upon an information against him of correspondency.

I have inclosed you one of Glencairn's proclamations for the bringing in of levies.

NUMBER 194.

From Dalkeith, February 18, (1654.)

About four days since, Colonel Daniel, with a party of horse, foot, and dragoons, together with the conjunction of another party from Dundee, in all about 1000, marched towards Dunkel, where the enemies most considerable quarters was, and where they had newly establisht a garrison in the Lord Athol's house, near the church. And upon Colonel Daniel's approach, (the Lord Athole and Sir Arthur Forbs having intelligence, retreated to the hills, and left only the garrison, and a few to defend the church,) those in the church durst not stand, bustled to the house, which our men attempted likewise, and got under the walls with pick-axes, and other instruments that were in readiness; and in short time got into a part of the house, without the loss of a man; and having slain only two of the enemy, the rest cried quarter, and had it granted, yet notwithstanding, unworthily began to resist a little, which quickened our men the more; and then they cryed out quarter amain. In the house we took two lieutenants, one ensigne, with blue colours, Sir Arthur Forb's own quarter-master, two sergeants, two cornets, 119 private rogues, together with eighty musquets and bandaliers, some firelocks and swords, about 16 pound of powder; also 25 troop-horses, 14 or 15 pistols, with much meal, malt, oats, which having no convenience to carry away, we set fire to a barrel of powder, and those provisions, and blew up them and the house together. About five dayes ago, one of the late Colonel Wogan's men, with three of his best horses, got his landlord to help him to water them, and run away with them to Blair Castle, one of our garrisons; which made the English less trusted by Athol and the Tories. Colonel Morgan hath also removed the enemy's garrison at Kildrummy, and many of those horsemen he routed at his engagement with Glencairn, (the great patron, or rather spoiler of his country,) running to Athole, near Dunkell, he translated them to foot.

Colonel Morgan, at his late engagement with the enemy at Cromar, killed 120, and took 27 prisoners, with their ammunition and most of their arms, and about 80 hors, in all which we lost not one man.

From Dalkeith, February 20, (1654.)

Upon Tuesday last, Colonel Daniel marched out of St Johnston's, with a party of foot and dragoons, and met with some other forces from Dundee, with which he fell the next morning on Dunkell, (the chief quarter of the enemy,) the enemy quit the town, and betook themselves to the great house (and the kirk) which they endeavoured to keep; but as soon as our foot came under the house, and killed three men, thereupon the enemy betook themselves to one room, and desired quarter, which was granted for their lives; we took two captains, two lieutenants, one ensigne, and Sir Arthur Forbes' quartermaster, and nine prisoners; we had only one man hurt with a stone, but not much. Atholl and Forbes were gone from that place into hills, not above two hours before. We took one blue colours in the house, which we have since made untenable; we have now in several places 400 prisoners, and it were to be wished that some instructions were given by his Highness for the disposal of them, most of them being idle rogues, which it would be a work of charity, as well as policy, to rid the country of, by sending them to some foraign plantations, where they might be in an incapacity of returning, and do some service in their generation, by being made to work for their livings; for here they will do nothing, but rob, burn, and murther, as oft as they get liberty, and while they are kept prisoners, are a charge to the commonwealth, and a weakening to our forces, by putting them upon extraordinary duty for guards for them, and often attempt and make escapes. Some of them, one a notorious murtherer, lately gagged the marshall's man at Stirling, in order to their escape, but were discovered, and laid in irons. A party of four of Major Harison's late regiment, (which we now hear is to be the Lord Henry Cromwel's,) going from Cardros towards Sterling, to con-

voy a prisoner of our's that lately escaped from the enemy, were met with by one Captain Buhanan, and nine more, and taken.

About four or five daies since, one of Colonel Wogan's men, with three of their best horses, got his landlord to help him to water them, and ran with them to Blaire Castle, which makes the Earl of Athol not to trust Englishmen so much. Athol dismounted very many souldiers that ran from Glencairn upon the defeat at Cromar, the particulars of which engagement we had this evening thus.* Their number was about fourteen or fifteen hundred horse and foot, at a very strong pass, which was a mile in length, and we could march but one man abreast, the enemy had thirty foot at the top of the glen; but Lieutenant Symonds being commanded out with a party of foot, and Captain Lisle with a party of horse, to the top of the hill, so amazed them, that their game was spoiled; for, after a short dispute, we routed them, and pursued them seven miles over the hills, such way as they did not expect we should follow them. We killed about 120, took 27 prisoners, with their ammunition, bagg and baggage, and most of their arms, and about 20 horse, Glencairn and Kenmore hardly escaping. These mercies were very seasonable, for the enemy were very high, threatening nothing but fire and sword, if all did not rise with them presently. Upon the 10th instant, Colonel Morgan marcht to Kildrummy, where they had a garison of forty foot and thirty horse, which being summoned, the governor was denyed, at last (the third day) he came to a treaty, and surrendered the house upon articles, to march away with arms, ammunition, bagg and baggage, which was not much; the house being strong, and to be taken without great guns, which we had not, neither could our forces have lain there above one night longer; and indeed, Glencairne and Kenmore had left that house as a bait, thinking we would besiege it before we fell upon them. Colonel Morgan left a garrison of foot and horse in it, and returned to Aberdeen. In all this business we lost not

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* It is not easy to settle the date of these frequent and obscure skirmishes; but this affair seems to be the same with that mentioned in the Narrative, p. 162.

one man, only one was lost accidentally by one of our own men, neither had we any wounded, but two horses shot.

Sir, You have my piece-meal'd relations, which in regard of time and intelligence, coming many times after I have [had] begun my letters, I hope you will pick sense out of my lines.

Since the writing of this, I have more particular relation of the business at Dunkel, but have not time to acquaint you with the whole. The names of the officers taken, are Captain Nicolson, Governour, Captain Fiffe, Lieutenant Charles Watson, Lieutenant William Rosse, Ensign Broughy, and Patrick Gray, Quarter-master to Sir Arthur Forbes. Arms taken, eighty muskets, and bandaleers and swords; some few firelocks, fourteen pounds of powder, but what was in their bandaleers. A great quantity of meal, malt, and oats, provided for the enemies forces, which we not being provided to carry away, blew it up with the house. Twenty-five troop-horses taken, with fifteen pair of pistols. Athol and Forbes came into Dunkel the night after we were gone, with all the force they could make. According to the old proverb, When the Fryer is beaten then came James.

No. 194.

From Dalkeith, February 21, (1654.)

The Earl of Atholl hath drawn all the forces he can together from Weems and other places; and he, with the Lord Bruce, were the 14th instant at Glenshier, marching northwards to joyn Glencairn, Glengary, Kenmore, &c. Upon their conjunction they will be betwixt 3 and 4000; and they intend to be revenged of Colonel Morgan for their late rout; but (through divine assistance) he may make them amends with such another beating. Yet Atholl's foot are much discontented, and leave him daily, out of a sense of declining, dangerous, and desperate condition, by their daily losses in all parts, and complain much of the cowardize of his horse. The English that came with Wogan are much dejected at his death, and lament their leaving France.

and being in so wretched and barbarous a place as the Highlands. We are daily sending what supply we can to Colonel Morgan; but cannot much add to his strength till the two regiments come out of England. The Scots at Edinburgh are very high, and have so great a spirit of malignancy and unbelief, as to give out that the late defeat given by Colonel Morgan to the enemy at Cromar, was only to some countrymen met there; though it is unquestionable that Glencairn, Kenmore, and most of their great fighters, were there in person; and the valiant Mac-Alding [Mac-dhonuil-duibh], the Laird of Loughaber, was one of the first that ran out of the field, and left his commission from Charles Stuart, &c. to the Earle of Glencairn; and other papers of consequence were taken, which its not to be doubted that they would send with a company of countrymen; but these kind of persuasions are so like the old English cavaliers' confident evasions, that I do but beat the fire to endeavour to drive these people out of them, who will not be convinced by any thing but a good sword subduing and cutting down those broken reeds upon which they lean, &c.

No. 195.

From Innerness, February 4, (1654.)

The enemy having divided themselves into several parties, to raise their assigned levies, keeping themselves in secure places about the brays for their safety, from whence they summon in the country to provide both horse and foot, whom they threaten with fire and sword, if they neglect to satisfie them in their demands, though never so unreasonable.

Glencairn is to command all the levies in these shires of Murray, and so northward. He, with eighty horse and one hundred foot, keeps near the hills, that, upon notice of the approach of any of our forces, they may secure themselves in the inaccessible bounds. Our horse-scouts now and then glean up some of them, having lately taken among other notorious rogues that threat-

ened to burn divers of the inhabitants' houses who are serviceable to the garison.

No. 195.

From Dalkeith, February 26, (1654.)

The levies that were made by the Earl of Athole are certainly spoiled, and the people now quite tyred out with them, seeing no help comes out of the Low Countries, as they were made to believe it would be; so that they now despair of any assistance to come that way. Besides, there is among them the report of a vision seen lately by a gentleman (a friend of theirs) in Fife, in which he was commanded, by one in form of a man, to speed to Glencairn, and tell that he must decline the course he is in, otherwise it will be destructive to him, and all under his command; after which they say the vision vanished. The gentleman neglected, and then had a second vision, in which he was sentenced to be dumb for his neglect; which he now is, and certifies the same under his hand, as they report. This latter prevails among the vulgar soldiers, and the two former have influence on all the army, in that they are much dejected with the conceit.

Athole is now with Glenlyar [Glenlyon ?], and hath about 300 horse and foot. He hath sent forth the fiery-crosses, but they are little regarded. Some of his men are gone to Badyenoth, where its said Glengary is. The old Laird of Glenvigs hath sent for a protection from the governour of St Johnstons. Athole was there to desire the demolishing of his house, (as Weyms was,) but the old gentleman gave him absolute refusal. On Tuesday last, Sir Arthur Forbs, with what horse Athole could make, marched towards Monteith and Lenox, in design (it is conceived) for the south.

The 22d instant, there was one of Colonel Daniel's regiment hanged at St Johnstons, for running to Athole, having bin taken again at Dunkeil the last week; and another was tyed up to the gallows, who had bin intercepted as

he had bin running to Athole, who was taken likewise at Dunkeil; but saved by articles.

Major-General Lamberts, and Commissary-General Whalley's regiments, horse, are come up, and will be a very seasonable reinforcement.

From Dalkeith, February 28, (1654.)

The last week, Lieutenant Hellin, lieutenant to Major Bramston's troop of dragoons, having notice that one Captain Thompson, and Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay's lieutenant, with five more of the enemy, were coming down into the Mearns, presently mounted with five more of the troop, traced them about ten miles into the hills, and at last took them and their horses, with their arms; and one of them, being an Englishman, refused to take quarter, and was killed. A party of the enemies horse and foot being before Downe Castle, five miles from Sterling, Major Bridges went forth with a party of sixty horse; upon which the enemy fled. Our men pursued, and, about four miles from Downe, came in sight of them; but most of them got into the hills. We took only six prisoners, and about nineteen or twenty horse. Sir Mungo Murray was there, and escaped very narrowly, as did Captain Hamilton, whose horse was taken, but he escaped over a bog. The 10th of March is appointed for the enemy's great rendezvouz about Badyenoth. Montross and Sir Mungo Murray came with orders to Athol, when he slighted Weems, to prepare all the forces he could against that time. There was a late falling out amongst them, and one Graham shot Athol's groom through the head, and young Montross had liked to have killed Lorn. The enemy have put in a garison of thirty men into Gaith [Garth?] Castle, about a mile from Weyms. I have sent you inclosed one of Sir Mungo Murray's warrants, threatening fire and sword.

"These are to require the gentlemen, heritors, and others concerned, in the parish of Drummond and Buchannan, that, immediately after sight hereof, they send to the Craig of Erne, out of every pound of rent, half bell cane, one furlet meal, one turf [truss] of hay, one leg of beef, one stone of cheese, four henns, or satisfaction therefore; as also, to be at the appointed place

with your proportion of troop-horses, every thousand pound being one well mounted troop-horse. With certificate if you fail, I will pursue you with fire and sword, according to the general order.

M. MURRAY."

From Blaniavard [*Monwaird?*], *Feb.* 23, (1654.)

No. 196.

From Dalkeith, March 4, (1654.)

Since my last, there is certain intelligence come of the landing of Middleton, at the ferry of Uney, in Sutherland, on Monday was sevennight, about twelve o'clock in the night, in a hoy, wherein were some arms. There came with him, Sir George Monroe, the Lord Napier, Thomas Deyal, *alias* Major-General Deyal [Dalzel], Lodowick Drummond, and about eighty more. The vessel was unladen, and sent away next morning. They sent forty of their men, or thereabouts, up to Atheness [Caithness?], with eight or ten horse-load of arms; the rest they carried away with themselves, and went up Strathfleet toward Assine, otherwise called Skyr Assine.

It is reported, there is another ship laden, in Strathnaver, with arms, but no men. They speak of meeting with Glencairn in the Braes of Murray, where they have their rendezvous; and, from thence, intend to press all the countries to rise. This may put some new life into them; but, immediately before Middleton's arrival, they were much dejected, and were moldering very fast; and I do not find but those, that are most sensible and rational, are much discouraged by this inconsiderable appearance of Middleton's; and some are of opinion, that it will tend to their total dissolution.

The Commander-in-chief hath sent more horse northward, to help to keep them up in the hills, where they cannot subsist long in any body.

From Amsterdam, March 14, *S. N.* (1654.)

The most remarkable thing that has happened in these countries of late is, that Middleton is at length gone away to Scotland, with a retinue of cavaliers along with him, and some armes and ammunition, in a big-bellied hoy. I was ever boasted by his party, that he would obtain great matters from the State, for the setting him out in a gallant equipage, and good supply from the Princes also in Germany. But the hoped effects of all these things are yet invisible; and his proportion of arms, and of men that went with him, doth not answer expectation, but sufficiently declares, that it was not so much design as necessity that carried him out of these Provinces; for he saw, that, if a peace be with England, there would be no abiding for him here, so that he must either go run at adventure into Scotland, or else wander in some foreign country. Notwithstanding, the well-willers of his party do give out here, what great body of forces are ready to receive him upon his landing; and make no question but he will over-run Scotland, and drive out the English.

It is observed here, that these beaten Royalists are a hearty generation; they are always thriving and conquering, if we may believe themselves. No sooner than time and observation confuted one story, but immediately they are up with another, and all goes well with them; let the world go which way it will, their tongues still run a-tilt, and in triumph. Their Master is (we hear) in Paris, but in a departing posture. It is thought, the affairs of that crown, in the present juncture, will not permit his stay there any longer. We hear not of any application made by him of late to this State, but we suppose he gives it over for drie meat. Nothing can be more unwelcome to him, than to hear that any country should be in amity with England; for his interest lies in troubled waters, and he must be hoping for the wracks of other States, that he may lay hold, though it were but upon a planke, to save a sinking fortune. It is said at his sister's court, that the first of his retirement from France will be at the court of the Duke of Brandenburgh, but whither afterward is not spoken.

From Dalkeith, March 7, (1654.)

A partie of the Earl of Athol's forces, horse and foot, came, the last week, and faced Blair Castle. The governor, Captain Witter, sent out a partie, within protection, to skirmish with them; whereupon one Captain Johnston, and two more with him, charged up to our men on horseback; but himself and one more were killed. Then they came up, whereupon our men retreated. They fetched off their two dead men, and buried the said Captain with Colonel Wogan at the Kirk of Kenmore. His death is much lamented amongst them, being very stout; but in his business he was too fool-hardy. We had either one or two shot.

There have of late been some private overtures made from some in the hills of some proposals, which would probably much allay the present distempers, without the harsh corrosives; which though I have hinted before, yet, since nothing is done tending to satisfaction in any of them, I shall again inculcate. 1. The sequestration that was upon many, (and of little or no advantage to the State,) made many desperate, and so to be removed. 2. That personal arrests might cease, and creditors contented to take all their lands and goods for satisfaction, or to cease prosecution till their ability to pay; the want of this makes others desperate. 3. That such as were souldiers of fortune, had passed the prime of their time in wars, and were void of callings or subsistence, might be considered to be transported to some Prince or State in amity with the Commonwealth; for they are born, and they must be kept, or will have a subsistence as long as they can get it. If these things were put in execution, it would prevent many from going to them, and bring off many from them.

No. 197.

From Stirling, March 7, (1654.)

Sir Mungo Murray, with some horse, about the head of this river, [*i. e.* Forth,] and by night, makes in-fals into the country, to plunder those that are disobedient to his warrants. Now, he demands L.23 Scotch for every horse and arms. His and his officers' trade is only to fill their pockets, and oppress the country. The countrey people are as malignant as ever to our interest.

I acquainted you last week, of Major Bridges his going out this day sennight, and taking of twenty-six prisoners, with eighteen or twenty horse.

Sir Mungo Murray, yesterday morning, came with a considerable party of horse near a garison of ours, to get in his levies. The officers of the garison, having notice of it, marched out; but the enemy, lying in ambuscado, fell unawares upon our men, took nine of them prisoners, and seven horse. The enemy also had some loss.

From Innerness and Dalkeith, February 28, *March* 6 *and* 14, (1654.)

About eight days since, Middleton and his company landed in a hoy from Holland. They would have put into Garmouth, which is at the mouth of Spey, the place where Charles Stuart landed. But notwithstanding we had garisons near that place, they put out to sea again, and landed at the ferry of Uney, in Sutherland, with about eighty men, as we have notice. They sent about ten load of arms to Auchness; and themselves are gone toward the shire of Assint. They give out that they have another vessel yet beside to land, but no mention of any more men.

He hath summoned in all the gentlemen of Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross, and hath appointed a rendezvouz immediately by the Brays of Suther-

land. He hath forbidden the Sherriff of Sutherland to act any more in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England, or in the name of Oliver, Lord Protector; but saith he will give him a new commission to act as Sheriff.

Seaforth hath raised 600 men, and is gone to joyn with him. But the late blows given to Glencairn by Colonel Morgan and Colonel Daniel, and the consideration of Middleton's arrival with so inconsiderable a number, after great expectations, hath (I believe) cooled the courage of the more wary sort of men, who are of any fortune, that they will take heed how they run in to his party.

There is since the former another vessel arrived for him, and come into Caithness, where he is to labour a drawing in of the gentlemen of that country to joyn him. There is talk of more vessels to come with necessaries to his forces. It is said he brought with him in his own vessell at first 300 barrels of powder, 1000 firelocks, with about 5000 pikes, muskets and pistols; and these, with two field-pieces, were lodged in the Castle of Skello.

Glencairn, Kenmore, Glengary, Athol, and Forbs, with their several parties, intend to have a rendezvouz as on this day, about 24 miles off of Aberdene, where Colonel Morgan is marched off to trie if he can rendezvouz with them.

From Dalkeith, March 11, (1654.)

There was taken out of the vessel that brought Middleton into Sutherland, 300 barrels of powder, 5000 arms, whereof 1000 snaphances [firelocks.] Immediately after their arrival they sent out a party of country horses to carry up their baggage to the Castle of Skello, where they got up also two brass field-pieces. They report that they have more men in Holland, but cannot get shipping for them, though they say 16 sail more are coming.

Major-General Deyell, with one Major Watson, and six or seven score men, are in the castle, to defend their arms and ammunition. Colonel Fitch

hath some intentions to make an attempt upon the place, by a party from Innerness: Middleton hath been with the Lord Rea, to procure him and his people to joyn with them, which it's said they will. Seaforth is gathering up his men again.

There is a declaration set out in writing by the enemy, of the grounds of their present quarrel; but it being long, I could not send you a copy of it.

From Edinburgh, March 14, (1654.)

Since Middleton's landing, the enemy are very busie in all parts, and will leave no stone unturned. They report that the Lord Wilmot is to come with a great supply from the Emperor. There came with Middleton sixty and odd officers, the least a captain, and amongst the rest (besides those I hinted to you.) Colonels Henderson, Monro, and others of them, had very cold entertainment in Sutherland; and the Earl himself and his family are coming away, leaving directions to his tenants rather to suffer than to engage with them. They give out that when all the prepared parties are ready, and the 16,000 dollars from the Emperor, for raising thirty regiments, that their King, at least their titular Duke of York, will come. The Earl of Athol and Sir Arthur Forbs have placed a garison in the Isle of Lough Tay, where they intend to have a stock of provisions, and also to keep such commissioners and heritors as refuse to bring in their levies, at 40 marks Scots for a horse, and L.100 Scots for a footman. On Saturday, Lieutenant Holmsted of Colonel Okey's regiment, with a party from Linlithgow, took a cornet and four more of the enemy, and eleven horse.

From Edinburgh, March 18, (1654.)

The landing of Middleton hath filled these parts with a thousand rumors, and as many stories are coined on purpose, to incense this people to run new hazards of ruine. They are told of their late King's being resolved to visit them, and that his brother York will bring forces, and from Germany and

Holland they say they shall have money. These phantasies are scattered with a great deal of art among the common sort, are led like sheep to the slaughter. We do not hear that they have yet attempted the Lowlands; but expect it, and therefore, for preventing their excursions, our commander-in-chief is resolved to take the field out of hand.

From Dalkeith, March 21, (1654.)

The Lord Ray hath sent to Skello for arms for his men. Seafort was expected the 10th instant, within five miles of Crabsdale, with his men. Sir George Monro and Middleton were then in Stranraver, and to meet Seafort and Ray at Inra, with their whole forces, where also Glengary, with his rabble, are to joyn with them, and to force Sutherland and Caithness to rise. It is reported, that since Middleton, a lord has landed with some men and arms.

The garison of Lewis have made slaughter of the country people that joyned with Seafort; and they have slaughtered some of the garison; the old natives joyned with our men against the rest of the country, so that these divisions cause great devastations in those parts. Those of Colonel Daniel's regiment, who were quartered in the garison of Logie, have found twenty-two muskets, nine firelocks, eleven swords, nine or ten sets of bandaliers, three quarters of a barrel of powder, and thirteen bundles of match, they were close made up in a wall, and found out by accident. Sir Arthur Forbs is again come from the hills, and divers parties in these parts stealing horses, which the wit of man cannot prevent, the country are so false, and yet cannot but see that all those people from the hills can doe, is to ruine them rather than injure the Enlish, against whom they pretend their chief quarrel.

The Commander-in-chief hath apprehended and confined some who discover themselves addicted to the other party. One of them, being Mr Knox of Kelsay, partly for praying for the pretended king, and declaring his affection to the rebels that are in arms against us, and partly for somewhat of correspondence.

The book entituled, The True State of the Case of the Commonwealth, as now in a Lord Protector and a Parliament, which was printed lately at London, being a piece that gives good satisfaction, is reprinted at Leith.

No. 199.

From Dalkeith, March 25, (1654.)

Colonel Cooper having notice of about 300 of the enemy, under Macnaughton and the young Laird of Newark, who lay in the Isle of Leven beyond Dunbarton, appointed several horse from our garison at Kilcrooch, Cardross, and Buchannan, to fall into that island at a pass near Buchannan, about four of the clock, on the 21st instant, in the morning; and accordingly that night himself marched from Glasgow, with a party of horse and dragoons, by the way of Dunbarton, and fell into the enemy's quarters; took Macnaughton's trumpet, and thirty-five other prisoners, narrowly missing Macnaughton and Newark; killed whereof twelve, whereof (as the enemies confess) was a lieutenant of horse; took between fifty and sixty horses, (some good ones,) and some arms; put a perfect rout upon their whole party, and returned the same day back without any loss.

No. 200.

From Sterling, March 28, [1654.]

Our expectations here are very great touching the business of a close with the Dutch; and so much the rather, because we observe the enemy here waits for an hour of a wider breach, reckoning that the only opportunity to put the people into a flame. Divers of the great ones northward, who yet appear not themselves, send out their second and third sons, but keep the eldest at home,

as not willing to hazard estates, and others they set on underhand, which gives the enemy great encouragement.

It is a rare thing to meet with a man that will give us any intelligence. I could not have imagined they had been so rotten. Their army, as they now own and call it, is still in the north perfecting the levies, that they may come on with the more vigour toward the south.

From Aberdeen, March 24, (1654.)

The Earl of Athol is come to Glencairn with about 700 horse and foot; Seaforth, and some new raised forces by him, are daily expected to joyn with them. Glencairn, with his whole force, being 2000 horse and foot, is at Dingwall, two miles from Brahan, not undeserving the name of an island, which gives hopes of engaging the enemy there. In order to which, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell is to march to-morrow towards Innerness with nine companies of foot; and Colonel Morgan follows him the day after with five troops of Colonel Rich his regiment, and four troops of dragoons. He intends to take with him Colonel Tomlinson's regiment, which is in his way, and to draw five companies of foot out of Innerness.

Some young lairds and others, that had a purpose to glean a party of horse in Lothian, and so repair to the enemy, were lately taken, and carried prisoners to Dalkeith.

From Aberdene, March 28, (1654.)

I have little to write save only to let you know, that all our enemies, Glencairn, Glengarie, Kenmore, Athol, Forbes, are north of Innerness, within twelve miles; and Middleton, with Seaforth, is expected with levies out of Caithness and Sutherland this week. I have received earnest letters from Colonel Fitch for more forces; so that this day I am marching with a considerable strength of horse and foot towards them; but I fear they will retreat into Caithness and Sutherland, where there are so many ferries, that it will

be impossible for us to reach them. They give out that we shall have no peace with the Dutch, and that within a fortnight they'll have 6000; and truly I believe, if we do not hinder their intentions by this march, they'll be 3 or 4000; and then let us have a care of ourselves, for they threaten this town much, though indeed we should be glad if they would come to us, and save us the labour of long marches. The two men of war which transported the foot to Orkney, took a Dutch prize laden with French and Spanish wine, and other commodities. The prize came into this harbour last night, but we know not where our frigots are that took them.

From Major Bridges *to the Commander-in-Chief, dated at Hamilton, April 3,* (1654.)

According to your honour's command, I drew out an hundred men out of my Colonel's regiment, and we met at Hambleton on Tuesday last, from whence I sent forty to Douglas and Zancker [Sanquhar?], appointing them to meet me within two dayes at a place appointed; and with the rest of the party I marched to Newmills, where I lay one night, making it my business to get what intelligence I could of the enemies motions. The next morning, by break of day, a lieutenant and nine mossers [moss-troopers?] came to the town's end, upon whom our sentinel fired, and they presently betook themselves to the mosses; and notwithstanding they were closely pursued by the guard, they could only get two prisoners, and six horses, which were not so serviceable, being but that night taken from the country people, which I caused to be restored againe, upon some small consideration to the souldiers that took them. The same day, Lieutenant Evans, marching with his party from me to Douglas through the Moores, took eight mossers more, notable villains and sturdy. I sent to the Governor of Air, to desire him to acquaint me with the condition of Lieutenant Hickman, who marched out with seventy horse from Glasgow, by reason, it is reported, he forced the enemy in Carick, who was said to be double his number; but his return to me was, that

he was considerable enough, and that he had met with and fought some of the enemy, routed and pursued them to Chapell; and so did judge that my party might be most useful about Zanker, and those passes. To that purpose I divided, and sent Lieutenant Evans with fifty horse that way; but, two miles from Comlock, I happened to hear of the enemy by a countryman, who reported them to be about twelve. I sent a party to the place where they were; but they had the alarm, and rid to it. Their party still increased till they came to the number of sixty, which were still pursued by a corporal and ten men. At last they faced about, seeing no more, and our party made a halt; but so soon as they discovered my party coming, they presently began to flinch, and turn tails. I sent the corporal, therefore, presently to charge their rear; but they soon fled, and betook themselves to the mosses, whither we pursued them at least ten miles, and the most doleful place that ever I beheld. He followed them as long as our horses could step forward, and till they had not ten or twelve men together in a body. The rest disperst, leaving their horses, which we picked up to the number of twenty-five, but could that day take no more prisoners but eight, and two slain in the pursuit. This party was commanded by Major Hamilton, Captain Leglan, and Campbell, the last of whom was not there. There was besides Cragdorough and fifty horse, quartered within a mile or two where I fell upon these youths; but, by reason of our interposing, could not come to them, but marched off entirely in a body to the left of us. I endeavoured to get what intelligence I could of their motions that night. The next morning I understood where they were, and what they intended, which was to go by the way of Douglas, and so to the north over Cluyd. I presently mounted and marched another as fast as I could, thinking to have been before them; but it so happened, that they were gotten past Douglas a full hour before me. I found out their tract, and pursued them as fast as I could, sending sixteen of our best horses, if it were possible to engage them, but all was to little purpose. We pursued them until we came within four miles of Hamilton, long within sight, but then we lost them.

I came to Hamilton this morning about one o'clock, and presently sent out all the horse that were here, to lye upon the passes of Cluyd, and to range

the country Evandale and Senerick [Lanerick?], whereabout, I judge, they will attempt to get over Cluyd. I have also dispatched an express to Colonel Cooper, desiring him to send to Kilsythe, and they to send to Sterling, to draw forth their horses to the passes, that so, if we miss them here, they may perhaps light on them; they cannot but be much tyred. I have also sent to Aire Captain Robson, to desire him to advise Lieutenant Hickman, with his party, which I understand is come out of Carick, to lie about the country near the passes over Dumbarton-shire, where those dispersed persons of Hamilton's and Leglan's will certainly privately get over. The eight prisoners, first taken, I sent to Aire; the rest I shall this day send to Glasgow. One is said to be a captain, another a lieutenant, and one a notorious murdering moss-trooper, known to be so by the country about since his childhood.

Truly, Sir, I must now of necessity take some rest, both men and horses being utterly spent; and, having not only tyred out our own horses, but also those we took from the enemy, I shall not further trouble your honour.

From Dalkeith, April 4, (1654.)

The enclosed will inform you what kind of task are put upon us in these parts to suppress the rebels and mossers, who daily gather, and are as often dispersed. Besides what was done by Major Bridge, a party of twenty of Major-Generall Harrison's late regiment, commanded by Cornet Kenner, coming from Dumfrieze with some sesse which they had collected, were set upon by forty of the enemy, received their charge, and then charged through the rebels, routed them, killed four on the place, took six, wherof three mortally wounded, and had only four of his party wounded. Lieutenant Hickman, with another party, fell upon sixty of the enemy, under the command of one Captain Campbell, took six, above twenty horses. Captain Campbell was shot in the back, his horse taken, but he himself escaped amongst the whins and bogs.

Glencairn and Glengary, &c. are gone over to Taine, into Sutherland, to joyn Middleton, and then they will be near four thousand; yet I doubt not

but Colonel Morgan will endeavour to engage them with his party. Montross and Lord Dudhoppe are raising men in the Brays of Angus, and report already speaks them three hundred horse. Thus do they daily strive to make themselves and the country miserable, having yet appeared the most cowardly enemy that ever we dealt withall;—but enough of this.

Dalkeith, April 6, (1654.)

Upon Monday night last, the enemy had a party returning from the south towards Aberfoy [Aberfoyle] pass, to which joyned another partie of the enemy, of about sixty horse and sixty foot, commanded by Colonel MacNaughton; at which time Cornet Keys, with about twenty horse from Dumbarton, and Lieutenant Francis Young, of Captain Callant's company of Colonel Read's regiment, with eighteen horse and thirty foot from Buchannan, made after them. The enemy got the pass first; nevertheless they were totally routed by ours, who killed one captain, and twelve private souldiers; took Lieutenant-Colonel George Herriot, William Buchannan, Captain Robert Campbell, Cornet Hugh Wells, quarter-master, above forty private souldiers, and about twenty horse. MacNaughton fled, with sixteen horse; all of them being killed and taken save himself and three others. We had only one killed and one wounded, and two horses killed.

Sir, this is all the intelligence that affords itself at present, having had [heard?] nothing from our parties that are abroad in these parts since the last.

THE END.

JAMES BALLANTYNE & Co. Printers, Edinburgh.

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek

MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Military memoirs of the great civil war Being the military memoirs of Gwynne, and an account of the Earl of Glencairns expedition ... in the highlands of Scotland, in the years 1653 and 54 ; with an appendix

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